

Arthur J. Slavi:

C. HEATH AND COMPANY

# THE "NEW MONARCHIES" AND REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLIES

Medieval Constitutionalism or Modera Absolutism?

## PROBLEMS IN EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

UNDER THE EDITORIAL DIRECTION OF

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# THE "NEW MONARCHIES" AND REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLIES

Medieval Constitutionalism or Modern Absolutism?

EDITION WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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## Introduction

an problem of the "New Monarchy" is a genuine one. The inquiring madent needs look no farther afield than the first two volumes of the New Conbridge Modern History to ascertain that fact. He might reasonably expect the work in question to provide a relatively consistent view of monarchy as it existed in Europe outh of the Alps, between the Eibe and the Pyrennes, in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Quite the contrary! Professor Densa Hay, in his "Introduction" to the first volume, outer a prevailing sendency to absolute monarchy distinguishing the period 1493-1520.1 Whereto De G. R. Elton, summerizing the contents of the second volume, while admirting the growing strength of the occular state, warms against the casy acceptance of the "New Monarchy" thesis. "In truth," he notes, "them western monarchies were less autocratic and self-consciously impossiony than is commonly supposed. By comparison with the despots of the East . . . they were as yet a long way from the absolution of the weenweath century. Everywhere there survived remotors of past separat-

Lest it be argued that English scholars are simply more queralous than their continental counterparts, we may note the same not of disagreement among leading French and German historians. Roland Mousaier, one of Femor's most distinguished historians, belds that about 1500 The majority of states were evolving to wards absolute monarchy." His promi-

ness colleague, the late Henri Houser, expressed the same view in his masterful study of the susseenth century: "Everywhere, one may say, the hereditary menarchies evolved towards obsidurism." Their countryman Leon Cahen, on the other hand, ventored emphasic discrete ment. Speaking specifically of England, he poted the widespread lack of consensus about what the words "New Monarchy" denoted. He was driven to conclude that If there was a new monarchy under Henry VII it was in this sense that he seestablished the strong kingship of the past centuries. The Tudor monarchy was the resurrection of a tradition." 6 Gerbards Rie ter, perlups the greatest of present day German historians, agrees with Mousmer and Hartung. In his chief work on the axteenth century he speaks of beginning "the history of the new, the absolute monarchies," with the generation of kings that includes Henry VII of England and Louis XI of France."

In pointing our the real disagreement about the mounting of the term "New Monorchy" as applied generally to the regimes of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and the further implication that the monarchies in question were "new" in the sense of belonging to the modern rather than the metheral period of European history, one has only opened the inquire. What exactly was the nature of these monarchies? That question manner he simply answered by reference to an-

New Cardvidge Modern History, J. S. New Cardvidge Modern Huney, H. B. Les XVI et XVIII Succles (Para, 1996) p. 109.

<sup>\*</sup>Les Dabuts de L'Age Muderne (Paris, 1956), PL'Evolution Politique de L'Angleseres (Paris, 1960 p. 16 Die Neugestelrung Europus in 16. Jahrhunders (Berlin, 1990) p. 30.

other term, be it absolutism or any emonem chosen for the purpose of labelling the complex of institutions comprehended by the "New Monarchy" label uself. The historian and the student of history abkemost always be wary of mere dehoused. It is their obligation to seek to know something more substantial about the meaning of the term, especially as it may be expressed in details drawn from the history of particular countries and the reigns of particular lines.

As one begins to examine the facts behind the label, old familiar data come to mind in a richness of detail. One recalls the oftrepeated accounts describing the Englind of Henry VII ofter the victory over the Yorkists at Market Bossovith, or the France of Charles VIII and Louis XI, slowly recovering from the ravage of the Hundred Years' War. For more than a century aristocrarically impired anarchy, royal incapacity and waning clerical dominance had beset a society once seemingly articulated its three orders of warmors, workers and worshipful priests. The Black Death crept in with rats and lice, contributing to the untuning of the string of order, while peasants justled the rublence as arable gave way to posture in a countryside Thomas More complained of when he noted that sheep threatened to ent up men! A Luropean Zeitsenwende or trans of troubles was at hand. The fabric of the old Europe was rent. Such is the picture constituting the snock in trade of historians of the early modern period.

The hoterians perhaps unconstruitly emulated the thought of the men of the wanting middle ages they wrote about in their abbarrence of a victorial even a chronological one Something had to fill the vital left by the collapse of the old order vividly proclaimed by both chroniclem and poets. Because collapse was not followed by dissolution something new must have come to fill the cold. The "New Monarchy" was the answer

A new Europe was called into being, as if by a second act of creation. Historians

agent described new dynasties a three re-invigorated total lines which were just as good as new ones. A balo of receive surrounded every aspect of the see. The Roman showsh and the decadent feudatories were eclipsed along with the other forces of medieval particularism and provinculum. A new style of absolute contralised government grew up, with new sechniques of justice, new administrative organs, new assertions of the royal proregaine and new mes for proud assemblies of the scalm that had first appeared in the forgotten middle ages. The "New Mayarchies, it was argued, were consisting! states in the modern fashion, over which kings presided de seur pursume absolue by vorse of their absolute power with out regard to the restraints inherent in the old ideals which had placed limits upon socular power. These limin which were best typified by feudal adeas of contract, the was structure of the Catholic Church and the maxima of Russes law which taught that "what concerned all had so have the consent of all," were now set aside. The modern state was trampeted onto the stage of history, absolute in character and imparient of the moltiplicity of authorities that characterized the medical world view. The new Mentah was the

In place of the old unity in multiplicity historians found a shaple new trialy best represented by that terrible maxim of the florest law qued principent places haber legis vigorem (whatever pleases the prince has the force of Lee'). Pleaseigns wrote a new preser complete with a new Three R's: The Renaissance the Beformation, and the Reception of Remon law. The first provided the secular and individualis; impulse espitalised upon by the kings. The second ended forever the abundance divided sovereignty, bringing to a close the ers of papel rutelage. The third pursed into the furthest recesses of thought the notion of consent. That was the classic pattern personned by A. F. Pollard's Factors in Modern History in 1987. He believed the dulerric of but or had moved relent cody beyond as modieval phase. His resistances in the quabble about the even which stanced the modern would on its way, with some opting for Charles VIII's every over his Future-General in 1454, while others accepted the more may that belong the following year. What matter The in the following year. What matter The New Manually had once into bring then the way accompanied by the semiole declare of representative account.

The modern state sorn by Polland had both negative and positive supporting strats. On the positive side were to be found regional on, the rise of buseasceane administration, the envergence of the raiddle class family allied with roling dynastics. and the developing idea of absolution. Negatively considered, the entergent states peared on the decline of the anstocracy, the roin of the church and the decadence of eschamoutarion. Polland's view has been vigoroudy champersed in more recent times by Roland Mountier, who incorponited into his rectamment of the thesis a wealth of detail utilizing data developed in more recent social and reconomic studies of the period. Moussier, however, to a greater degree than Polland, recognizes the survisal of limiting agreedes from the modicual epoch and recognizes also that fully developed absolution emerged only after a penied of evolutionary development. Both the reserve of Polland's original entement and Mounter's afternative revision are here presented under the rubit of The "New Monandry" Thesis.

About every aspect of his meta has received everal a rating in the generation same Pollind's Factors was any published. It would take several volume like the present one to decreas the work of actions who either support or decreas the theris in every particular. The role of the anomoticy the genery, the mondant of aces, the chose harm and the bureau tats has been carefully evaluated. The name of central government and its relation to the declining feudatones has provoked talk of "aris-

tocraile resurgence" and "renascent fiscal fendalism." The structural supports of the thesis, both positive and negative, have been tested, with the result that some are now accepted and others found wonling.

Because the literature is so voluminous and the problem so complex, it is clearly impossible to try to deal with it in its totalny. For this teason, the essays in this volume will focus solely on the related themes of the expansion of princely government, the centralization of power, and the interaction of these with the traditions

of representative institutions.

Pollard's consideration of the relationship of princes and parliaments clearly implies, and on this point he has the support of Mouseuer, that there was a contest for power in the early modern period in which abundants sovereigns transphed over long-standing but since decadent traditions of crossent. It also brings us to grips with the multion of the proper periods designation for the monarchies in question, and some hammans have been much agisted by Pallard's strempt to impose a fairly sharp medieval modern dialectic as implicit in the work of Henry VII, Francia I, Caustavus Vasa and their contemporatirs.

The next light essays, therefore deal with the two related themes of the assertion of royal authority in government and the cake placed by representative assemblies especially with respect to the question of whether they limited or extended royal powers. Essays locusing on England, France Burgundy and the Netherlands. Sweden and the Germanius provide a sufficient range of data drawn from the period of the late fifteenth and statementh centuries to incure that the meaning and applicability of Palland's thesis on a European scale can be evaluated.

In the first of these, Professor Walter C. Richards in selects finance as the key to measuring the effectiveness of government trader the early Tudors. On the basis of much careful archival research, he presents arguments both for and against the traditional view of the modernity of Tudor.

government. While, on the one hand, he approves of the term "New Monarchy" to describe Henry VII's regime, and readily agrees with Pollard that centralization of authority second to go forward at the eapense of some older traditionally limiting Interests, yet he also insists that Flenrician government rested on medieval household organi reminiscent of those described in the justle famous studies by Thomas Fredenck Tost of metheval governmental adminimation.2 Similarly Professor Richardson paradoxically emphasizes the practical absolution of Henry VII and Henry VIII in summing up Tudor practice, while at the same time stressing their ability to make the best of the growing power of parliament, to contrast to the Stuarts who held to a rigid distrine of theoretical abesous and at the tame time were unable to solve the problem of how to dead with the unrale body which occusionally had to be convened at Westminster,

Richardson's amphasis on continuity to povernmental technique under the early Tudors was sharply challenged by Dr. G. R. Elton of Combridge University. Their everall interpretations of what the Tudoes had done in the way of changing the monarchy in England could hardly have been more divergent. Dr. Floor incise that medieval government was fundamentally govenment commating from the king's person and his immediate entostrage, while early modern government was basically inches pendent of the royal bousehold and was bureaucratically organized in national departments responsible to a crown whose ulmmate power was rooted in parlamentary enactments. By his own emeris Elton was forced in concede that Cardinal Wolsey, for all his outrecestic roamner, merely restored good medieval government, whereas, only a lew years later, no matter how hard a specessor in office, Thomas Commell. labored to disguise his work under the

forms of doing lastiness inherited from the past, his actions constituted a "revolution" in government. That revolution in government saw royal power claiming support of a truly national sovereignty catablished on the basis of purliamentary statutes, the effect of which was to comte the modern. monarchic, nation-state. Thus Elton seemingly accepts one of Pollard's main costontions, mestly delaying the appearance of the "New Monarchy" by a half sensory, while representing the salical retarliaming of government as, in large measure, a product of the Reformation. We find to our surprise that neither Professor Richardson nor Dr. Elton rejects Pollant's unage enrisely, although for the former it was more medieval than modern; for the latter it was nor the result of royal initiative at all. Both agree to incising on the vitality of purliamean Richardson seeing it chiefly at a useful annosance to the Tudoes which became a mere autoyance to the Stuarts. while for Elean its role was more positive, since it was the foundation stone of the modern state. But both make careful qualibeations of the term absolution, modelvine it county to make us wonder to what extens it is renamingful to describe the Today monarchy as either new or absolute?

The themse of centralization as one of the primary aims of the "New Morarchs" caught the attention of the great Belgian Miniman Henry Pircone, In an important article on the Burgandian state he expound the difficulties of a coverego rules in a state licking in both ethnic and linguistic bomogeneity. At the same time he tried to demonstrate that the flurgundian state was consciously built on the "modern" idea of unification, even though he was well aware of the medicual diversity which purposed as the basic substratum of the monarch's power. He makes it clear that the Burgundian dulum and the Hapsburgs had to try to fathion a centralized state primarily by building upon the person powers concentrained in their bands as good foudd sagerains in much the same way as the Capetions and other fendal monarchs had

fashioned their states in an earlier period. Read in this way, the history of the constitution in the Burgundian Netherlands seemed to follow the typical pattern of state-building used by nationally minded princes seeking unity on the basis of dynastic principles, hardly a modern feature, and the old fouds ideals of local authorities historibically arranged. In describing the Burgundian dulies' efforts to centralize, Pirenne round without offering detailed evidence that the Burgundian rulets consciously tried to use neurables of representatives of the provinces formed in Sextes General as a built in unification. Traditions of local particularism, however, in the provincial assemblies person to be too strong to make even the States Cenousl an eilcotive force for upon. In this afformation Pirente clouds reducily from the traditional view of regal policy to the age of the "New Monasche," a view in which nsless were held to be the destroyers of representative assembles that loomed as

rivals in the struggle for power.

A contemporary acholar, H. G. Knenigsberger, coming back in part to the name ground a half century later, ares the probem of the relationship between the monarchy and the States Ceneral in the Netherlands more in norms of the traditional "New Monarchy" them. He rejects Pisenne's view that the Burgundian dukes consciously used to use the unifying potential of the States General to augment their recognized authority as feudal auterains. In fact, he suggests that while their policy towards it teems at times to have been ambivalent, they recognized that the States General had played a really revolutionatey role in the 1470's and 1480's, usurping certein menarchical functions, and placefore they never ceased to regard it more as a dangerous aval than as a potentially use ful aly. But even had the ruless accepted this latter vacw, Keenigsberger stresses that the States General could only have been of limited usefulness because it was energized by a self-destructive principle. It was never anything more than a "congress of

delegates from quasi-autonomous powers" and, as such, able to put up a subborn passive resistance against any national policies proposed by the prince but unable to institute or carry out any national policies of their own except in consequence of some cure emergency facing the people. Medieval particularism of the land found in the Netherlands exanot be clossed as "constitutionalism" opposed to graving "absolution." It represented the triumph of local privileges and autonomy as voiced by prelates, nobles and the patrician oligarchies of the towns. Against that array of forces, whatever centralizing policies were attempted ended in failure. This close study of the States General might be said so show that the "New Monarchy" attempted by the Burgundian dukes and Hapsburg regents failed because they, unlike their mecessful fellow rulem, were unable to overcome the forces of particularinto. The States General of the Netherlands never did duplicate the sente of England's parliament, in which the "community of the cealm" found its voice. One more thing is worthy of noting here. Contrary to the "New Monarchy" thesis, the failure of Recaimance manarchy in the Netherlands seems to show the vitality of medieval perticularium, despite the urbanization and medernization of the economic life of that part of Europe, just as a similar degree of vitality was shown by the equally advanced and equally independent Italian and German cities. For from the boneprotein rallying to the support of the "New Monarchy," the urban patriciate led the amenables in consting royal policy. The monarchy failed precisely because there was no united nation to support the state, a fact that attempted barrowings by the rulers, best from French and then from Impersal constitutional models, could not overcome Pitenne and Koenigsberger thus agree on this much monarchy in the Burgundian Netherlands was never successful and never absolute. Both adduce some evidence which challenges Pollard's viewn both equally contribute some evidence

The reference is to the ground-breaking are vol-times that appeared under the general rule Chap-ters in the Administrative History of Medicual England (Mauchester, 1920-1933).

supporting them, while undermining the utility of the merlieval-newlern dialoctic when it is applied to the Netherlands. The

reality proved one complex!

Turning to France in this period, the problem seems to be less complicated as the lines of the nation and the state oppear to be so chearly exched. The French monarchy in the early modern era has been the major concern of J. Russell Major. His coveral books and articles based on detailed archival research have suggested same inbetesting revisions of previously accepted conclusions, Professor Major agrees in part with the classic thesis; the sixteenth curtury followed hard on the heek of an explier royal drive to consolidate cantral apthurlty in the aftermath of the disasters. suffered in the wars against England and the domesus state of the fifteenth century. But, he asks, was that drive not freewarded by a number of factors? In addition to the continued supremacy of the nobility, the maditions of corporation capressed by lawyers in the previncial parlements and the inability of the crown to raise an effective standing army, he adds the business cross of the age as a force compelling the Renglenatice kings in France, especially Francis I and Henry II, to solicit the support of the traditional representative institutions. He suggests that the censition of activity by the Estates General between 1484 and 1560 seems to have mushed older hostorians and caused them to look upon the era as one of royal absolution. He corrects this view by pointing our that the perferents and the provincial estates played a most effective role in limiting the supposed absolution of Francis I. He goes on to show that despite the grandeur of his court and the pretension of the coyal style, Francis I hierally thought of himself as the first gentleman of the restm! The historian who pays close attention to sixteenth contury manarchy in France must conclude that it was in most essentials just a continuation of the menarchy of Charles VII, and as such was to endure until at least the reign of Louis XIII. Far from seeing France as

a model of continental absolution to the fashion popularized during the era of the Renaissance by English critics like Sur John Fortescue, who spoke of France as a "Turkish despotism," Major disagrees with Mounter and preclaims the sinteenth century French monarchy to be a "consultative monarchy" which changed into an elicionaly man, controlled state only a contury later, during the Thirty Years' War, under the guidance of Richelieu, whose spiritual heir Colbert completed the process ox building a cational, absolute and modem state in France.

We have seen that historians whose special interest hes in England, Busquandy and France have formulated senous severvations about the applicability of the Pollard-Mousemen analysis. They have either the modernity of the monarchies in question or their absolution; concomes they have done both. The continued importance of particularist forces and trackmonal constitutional forms, often elequently embodied in the collequies of parliamentary umembles, is a striking meamentary on the character of European politics in an age of apparently growing monarchical power. With this is mind, if we ram to the north, especially to Sweden, and look to the max of the Rhine, to the Committee. even more assesting signs of the vitality of representative institution present them-

F. L. Carsten in his book on the politics of the German states from the followalls to the eighteenth centuries focuses see the penses sample waged by princes and parnaments for generations after the oillapse of Imperial authority signalled by the issuance of the Golden Bull of 1356, a decgeneral which necessy made official what had been a fact for some time. The Empire had falled to establish growing somescignity at the expense of the princes. Inthe wake of the dead struggle with the papacy, and aided in part by the Interior num of 1250-1272, been the princes and the ministernal publicy conspired to render the central sower of the emperors a hement. The fourteenth and early fifteenth century witnessed political collapse in the territorial states as well, as various leagues, rollies become and dynastic wars engalled the German states, petty and great alike. As the filteenth century progressed, however, a revival of princely interest and competence took place, with Roman law man this emphasizing severeign powers engerly second on by the princes seeking to combat the assety centrifugal forces, especially those represented in the various estates. The battlefields were smaller than above of England or France, but the struggles were as a nimilar nature. In order to solve the religious and comomic problems of the late afreenth and early sixteenth centuries, the German princes found it nocessary to "work on" the porticularist sympathics of the various elements in the Estates until a common tense of interest in the well-being of the territorial gate was formed. Despite the alleged incapacity of the modern German when faced with the burden of political liberty, the records investigated by Carsten suggest that in an earlier period a capacity to deal with the problem was not lacking. Not only in lawmaking, but in practical administration as well, the Courses rulers relied on their perliaments in a manner not much different than that so fumiliat in medieval Eng-Innal.

The very essentials of the turn toward toodernity in Germany were found in techniques borrowed from the Entities by the princes. Thus many German states tended to evolve along institutional lines very anuch like those found elsewhere to westero Europe. When looked at in this way the institutional development of Germany in the sixteenth century is simply a part of a larger movement. The "New Mooarchaes" in Germany - and Cersien accepts that concept as applicable to his own area of interest - were test enough, although they were far from absolute in the sixteenth country. The essence of the monarchies regime was simply the reduction of the forces of anarchy, an achievement

impossible without the aid of the constisudenal principle represented by the Estates which had earlier appeared as just another do sve element in Imperial politics. Only after parliamentary assemblies gave proof that they could not maintain their position in the face of the crises of destructive warfare in the seventeenth century was absolution possible in the Germanies. The resolution of medieval tengions in politics came only at the and of the confessional wars, when absolute monarchies, which by then were not now, overcame the dying constitutionalism of the representative assemblies,

will!

In German principalities as in England and Prance, as well as in the Burgundian Netherlands, the sinteenth century appeace as one of transition, a period in which medieval and modern concepts and forms of government joule one another restlessly. "New monarchies" are indeed taking shape. But not apparently in the sense maintained by Polland. If we turn to Sweden, which is the early sincenth century was stielf emerging from a cataltrophic time of troubles, the already familiar contours of the problem achieve ever sharper

definition.

The modern Swedish monarchy presides over one of the most advanced social deconcracios in the world. In few places can such an effective marriage of royal and parliamentary principles of government be found. Between our own day and the reforms of Gustayus Adolphus in the early seventeenth century, vigurous changes which capped the modern development took place. But even before that time there were currents of constitutionalism, of ideals and practices anticipatory of purliamentary reomerchy. The historian of evolutionary beliefs would suspect that, even if he did not have the proof available.

Inguar Anderston's History of Sweden, the work of a poted sixteenth century scholar and archivist supplies the needed proul, while at the same time affording us further insights into the meaning of Pollard's terminology. As Dr. Anderston him-

self writer, in the age of the sixteenth tentury king, Gustavus Vass, "the ideas of the medieval world were in the melang por." The discovery of America, Magellan's dicumpavigation of the world, the theological discoveries of Martin Luther these were developments that coincided with the efforts of Vasa to lorge a unified national state in place of the great dream of a Nordic kingdom embracing Denmark and Norway as well as Sweden itself. Building on the work of Karl Knutsman and the Stures, Vasa, as Gustav Eriksson. of Rydboholm came to be known, founded a "New Monarchy." But the most was not an easy one. Opposition came from some of the old nobility, loubs to narrender feudal prorogatives, as well as from the presume, conservative by nature and uneasy about church reform. In order to gain wider acceptance for the many innovations planned in church and state, especially acquiescence in administrative reforms and the disposition of church property in the course of the Reformation, Visa found it necessary to turn to the Swedish Estates, the Rikadag or assembly already possessed of a long-standing history of participation In government. Sworping saide the resistance of churchmen, presented governors and the influence of the independent citas of the Hanseatte League, Vana had by the early 1530's, with the aid of the Rikeday, established to Sweden a state quies like the one molded by Thomas Comwell in England. It was a "New Monarchy" with a strong, contralized government.

In some respects Anderson found the break with the putt so be complete. Yet in his narrative one cannot for very long escape the oranipresent fishesing, itself a port of the medicival heritage and a bulwark of constitutional limits set to the authority of the newly coward king. Between the Stures dream of a strong carting-state, which Vesa was able to realize, and the idea of absolution, which Vesa neither sought nor realized, there stood the representative institutions of the Swedes, assorber instance of the subtle way in which

the old and the new combined in the sixteenth century to make it neither medieval nor modern.

It is hard to avoid over-maning the importance of parliamentary bodies in the Feropean political system of the late 66treath and early extreenth containes in a work focusing on the applicability of Pallard's thesis in the light of meent research. and synthesis. Surely the role of such groups in the Netherlands and in England was strikingly different than it was in France, where the central Estates General suffered an early eclipse. Yet in France tepresentative assembles other than the Estates General continued to be important in the supposedly model despression of the age. These and other points were ably made by Robert H. Lord in 1930, in a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association under the title. The Parliaments of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. That week is presented as the final emay in part two of this book, chiefly because it argues effectively for a line of ceincism subsequently developed by more recent critics of the Pollard-Mousnier thesis. Lord shows that the hallmark of sixteenth century monarchy consisted more often than not in power shared between the representatives of the politically active classes and the royal administration. To that sharing, Lord gave the name "quasi-constitutionalism." What such a wooding lacks in felicity is amply compensated for by its very suggestiveness of the leminators faced by the "New Monurchies."

This sampling of the results of recent scholarship has by shore fecused on a single aspect of the problem of the statement crottery more thies and their immediate lifecosh century mots. Equal concentration on other farets would doubteruly uncover further ambiguities and deficulties inherent in Pollard's formula when applied on a European scale. Yet the primary query temains unanswered unless we can characterize there faces still medied by historican under old rubrics.

\* Quelques problèmes concernant le montré bie absoint Relacion del X compre se serves on été de saintie es sois (Farrance, 1955), IV, 1-55 (Sprint moderna).

No easy answer typings to mind. Professors Mouseier and Harting and all they could do in 1955 membrate to catalogue the problems implicit in an consideration of absolution, when they allowed an international congress of historians at Rume.<sup>3</sup> This is not intended as a counsel of despite, however Formatchy or can turn to the mouse as a counsel by J. Rumell Major and J. H. Henter, which, when taken together, seem to point a way for the next generation to follow.

It is perhaps not unfair to say that Major still values the term. "New Monatchy" highly, though in a special state: he wishes to preserve the ricer that the Renmissance, with which he associates the gromanchies at imme, usus an age of prefound innovation. Hexter, on the other hand, is sired of orthodoxies and wants to start afresh, with a new vocabulary that tends to be as dialectical as that used by Polland. His theses and antitheses are more sabele, surely, and they help us to find our way through a mass of data whose production incremes at a nonlinear rate. Major med Henter highlight a paradox implicit in the problem we are studying, a paradox that rouse he dealt with before bringing this ensay to its close.

We live in an age beset with revolution ary pressions. Polland lived and found his framework for historical thought in the late Victorian cru, characteristically optiunstic about the course of evolution. Yet he scoke of the revolutionary arwners of the Renament e mounthing. And it is just this point that seems to divide the syntheses of Hester and Major. The former accuses Pollind of imposing a too evaluationare scheme of the data. Major, for his part, emicites the details of Pollard's picture, but wishes to netton the essence of the Remaissance as marking a new era in human history, much in the fashion of Jacob Burckhardt. While each of our revisionists

insists that a new detailed vocabulary is needed, if we are ever to come to grips with the complex institutional changes of the period, there is between them an explait disagreement about the lines of reconstruction. Both seem to reject the actidental features Polland described as necessary parts of the "New Monarchy"; but each accepts the central notion of die essential newsess of the period on 1450-1600. The business of working I wated an adoquate historical language with which to describe the balance of community and change thus looms as one of the great methodological challenges facing the next generation of historians.

The old formulas have come to play the part of a worn out myth, a myth that once evocated thought and challenged the inv aginazion but eventually grew stale and served to stille further exertive effort. Nor body will question that profound changes were taking place in the political institutions of Europe during the period under consideration here. Many will not question the utility of the term "New Monarchy" itself. But the myth represented by the near dialectic expressed in the dichotomy "modern makes neither Major per Hexter happy. The medieval modern antithous almost always suggests another that might be referred to as the "constitutionalism-absolution framework. Such pairs of terms run the risk of bringing the bicogian to rest on the precaoously sharp point of his own distectical knife.

That is not in say that the revisionists have not their positive side. The "New Monarchy," with all of its implications, does not seem a wholly perverse idea to them, if by that formula we indicate the efforts made by princes and kings to cope with the beauting problems of government that each state laced during the late afteenth and early streams outsides, although not always at the same moment in time. If we can abandon the habit of looking at the concept as marking the end of the medieval etc. which view Pollard and his supporters seemed to expound, and be-

gin to treat the complex of ideas implied in the formula as no hing more than a descriptive franction the "New Manacht" ought to continue to smouthe the historians of future generations. In that way the historian, whose work is on the surface contentation of the past, can pour new

wine into a valuable and favored old bottle white aroid on the arrest raile sensations using when one rest on a roint valuable in logs but of dubous with in the looking grown besterred fact.

leases all selections reprinted here one the place applied to the following the selection of the place applied by the extent of

"The control was enter of which we have been speaking in connection with the New M. The west arrived but throughold to the development of Particles of the indexest and provide Indeed, everywhere but in England Particles are trained almost disappeared.

- ALPRED PREDERICK POLLARD

The progress of the absolute monarchies was not caused solely by the deserved the kings to more as their power. The theory of absolution arrows of the demonant north of the solutions and a desire of the corpuses of Tamey the new normalists were a result of the rivatries of two classes, the resulty and the homogenian. The king had need of the latter in furancial allians.

- HOLAND MOUNTER

"The arrests of the Tudar rule lay . . . In the throughness with which it was also seen of Children states were two pasted and adapted to new uses while research followed the conditional pattern . . . New pollow were formulated, but ancient laws and traditional practices were observed . . ."

- WALTER CROIL RICHARDSON

"Tath of a 'new suremethy' in the encounts century has become a little unfashionable of late. But in some ways the remains has gone too far as vegerds political and social enursure, the encounts century produced something quite new in England. . . ."

- Georgest Russing Piros

As a appeared at the time of Philip the Good . . . the Burgundian State may be delead as a phendry of automorphic territories forming a mountainal unity. A common open-brigan was entablished . . . hetween the local Blacker and the pencely power. Had it been from in develop stuff at will, the latter would have arrived at absolution.

- Henry Proposed

The States General of the Netherlands statistical itself only in the seven numbers provinces of the Burgandian dominions, but there its victory was so domino that, at least formally, it displaced the monarchy obsgether."

- HELMUT GROWN KORNESBERGER

"... the popular, consultative mature of the monarchy continued annualified for the first third of the period and was only mildly altered thereafter ... Francis I had 'neither the strength of mind not the streid-stress of will to apply himself to a systematic transformation of society and instrutions."

- J. Rumall Major

In other words the tendency to designite the German Estates and take with the princes, who tree to suppless them persent to the present

- FRANCIS L. CARSTEN

"In the royal procumorous wants were read before the Estates. Custavas You offermed that he has been died in his statigations of the people and diat the people had not responded in kind. . . The fault was . . . that his project for a contralised administration mader his direct control was incompetible with the medieval system. . . . "

- Cast, Indvan Avenue

"I is largely though perhaps nor sufficiently recognized that in the penent scounce of the evaluation of Eligenti scotts between the use of few afthat may no era if should a man, by these incresenes a power of what is may be called parliamentary monarchy. . . . . "

- ROBBET FROMARD LORD

the Benaissance Manacha put therey into practice by endeavoring to use representative die districts as a means of winning popular support for Chip is Thoughouse

- | Riverta Major

Thus, the hope of The New Monan was one are the temperature promote the second to a second of the second exemptable of the sisteenth century . . . Thus . . . medieval history ended and margin many segun-

- 1 It Harren

# THE "NEW MONARCHY" THESIS: TOWARDS ABSOLUTISM

ALFRED F. POLLARD

A. F. Pet and won born on 869. After a distinguished undergraphing cover of peace on eage. Out its, he have on MA in the or the wind a work has all districtional broke about Turker history, was the recipient of numerical academic honors and prizes, among them the Leither Prize and the Arnold Place and was made a fellow of to the hypothesis to the at the British Alloger in ad ten he would be ten at a few off it is not ela light sea which is to the light with out a his many hallymes but an the natitude of Historial Research, a indon which he founded

a my first learning I drew ways offernoon. to the fact that, whereas ancient histota upus me ma was who the sir you and na cas bears who he is always mean n ar is morney ; to been wild the main in State and to Salmy ar to admirate he is springed if the carety had palled a reprewhite a state of his will control I the same of it wiste to a to be happy of he was more and The att school and Aldre Name as the reader and and the second and the second second second throng to day and a farm as found its meet on a and efficience copress in int chall a 5 so

I d he saw here a mar may be all encel up a lip to the area also of its who and is car were terror ever merely the tenuts in it what he heard Non- use hid promises a small week. eer as it she start at a process in the Chun a Ana the and to be to be as SANS A VISITED BY A SHIP L 11 for on of the Chi han he alek and M life have to easy to these at work states in the proper meters of a red writing to approved a statement I are want. Thomas however the best proventing

above and before the material order of

As time went on, however, he have te gorden text operate of a same operation la mare la moure gener rhomathe name the management and regarded to a more plant are and the book to end me ten : The San a san back his month as w.T. ( on a problem T men we have go me some help to The remarks determined in a figured who have the new or he to be born of the was he has a selected an interest or a chost the governor of the propert a suppress Rx ga availa or the said of the second or a least to a upo to get to all The same that or this to have upon as an after a got a training the tag and the second of the second o a man and marriage To one emple of the sector of the bright a w is ghard the words to show that responding a superson of the same by The All The Start war some ope of the life to the transfer of the and a discount to be when that of corre and vapil, and to set the moral comment extant on the Turbor system, as-

Press A. F. Polland. Factors on Madern History (London, 1907 pp. 52 15, 93 Septimed by permitmon all Constable and Company Limited, and The Boston Press.

diningle + was written in Small singles. Sea distractive he appropriate many he area of sight he wasterign need one he a menta to I mare be to wear a to or fit to brate of his map I so not be does roose though to justice themes methods, he ice s are has drough to speak and the en again of a dig three or more which it has State our ser total min and en eigeneth is implete beim die bag in If has he appropriately

The impact and absorate concepting if the State bigs in a been exceeded by a stone and gent it in a sillar feutanic or adere-4 Education From the manufacture of the Sain in state of the thoronto. died, tear beauty actions. It is agreed of the such good as in other some there yould news agents the kindre a said rige is coccured by more in the wife In the right 1 to all the ferrie again to the as yet the second to was done topy, note. which produced a specialist one is a use, and the first of between weather the will The Commerce who we have gover and having on my admin some and or of the live areast of or note grig top top to the first west and they a south so a line on a of the proper on the year on green are degree us it experies and the korsk a few sortes are not on the receptor tall and the man by the man aspendings as neigh an fix mines of her money Saliens a sit of arworm the Line is on his reason it an ifferire of area in and it not a very and a water of the party of the party of the against a strong or the other other strate word we could be able to again this Sure of ways the more was may an orne-District A transcap

Turque to our e was at one ingerein som or new or the late of bring was on the neutral and a way the hear to do not be my or miss it cas per a care one from among his bands. The king was provide triter power, little more, and on the talk

have a one right, absolute power and P - i didunce a makim and his incieva Indeed the ground of new things is no the area of modern history and or . he had tradepro of the age with is his more no A submissione size. the water one or and dear it is The state of the state of the state of Note that the property of the second en thinks the eliter to part the arrest One also of the man was been because ten in alteragence it in the early is now pay. a strong on todays that were Anneapt as meaning ever a thing c has never conviced truth that the tax in a topic is a by New Maria and a second a second in the if a night of the press of the to ment the and waterman . . . And yet when hales he per a decept a se the fit of white the opinion that he are part of the primary a moment on the statut state is I has evered base in a sea more the riters is easy to every other ope to die to made patterns the news on business where the construction action as to a support to only or only public I have to the select for your and about an other were postedy to seek the or opened to the state of the state of the Henry 4 the New Marrier & Arm. He research of how reaches a speciment to of the state of th and an write catern is the

The most a cent were to be that the stands of the second secon His tollers be a from his more at the crust. the water the man presidence by the agree at a statement of the time with an earlier to at place of remode one them to many he the mean year in its of the sec or topol cate Marking a new year his report he mere a pau du trong de 11 ---In the way o die Commun to I me t reuning a dograp the process of Total someone and as as something in he to pas who has no soul 6. that per sice had record to be a read hetere he in a sheret too is I plan absence theoretical system for tensporal, after

permanent apprecation. If we've that may traumph Interns unity prepared the way be the set a fine other permit to expend a torsion to he was high to was and stone at the control of the read the mosely and have about of ADE NO TO A DE JOSE AND A TY THE PORTER SIT OF BANKER OF THE great reports to a disable of war find of few on all spines of a new a square l'unea e as es dente l'ener it a sur it able lemme I tou have the presume the last had as home chain pather and I would as being a single as a to at being any and any and the great was A good har a he goed a an mean man man accommence of the Co. the process to a stranger of the this popular were and of a natural el the treates and on the action an example to most the back term to the because gul a supering on a let 4 1,4 4 a a a a 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 rate and property 15 2 22 5 2 1 2 2 16 The second of the second and a year of posity for a The second second 4 Bu 24 It and , 1 a final can a three trade and a contract terminal of No. 2 To A Car C No. as the allerance of the appearance of an an Arrow in the court gradient of the programme of the program assis of the Warr of the London to the car thought a would be taken in de la la esta esta mantina de la desta de la constanta de la c pay to dispositely established particle Martina making te amarana Ares pe as Maries e area ?

National monait of abone seeming to milkt by the teems of other case makes installamean a sun to the Minute Ages and gazone by the tax water to be more if was he come als took of the mark of a life national. No exchange can reduced for emiser the remained and the students that now to any has a such the power of their negative about names, the fer-folma nates and the am an he ween he division it more of fern are and the tentral authority ended at lass in monarchical are an ana me waters of the fee The ming a Law X companies die crosuch a temper 11 to att. are the of fer as mittandrace were crushed, and I will my it to expand of the cost of was a part P so a remark Propping Any on he tany were incorporated in ( I is notice the age the a theraper to an about absolutions are the or new at . John and to the more more her carried the sees Stres toll aveil the examine it is need been read of the print and a page of Consider to the in the All as earns A a sould also sureless the more in a rigiding of Young Marrage and even his nice out, and in the arts of micessefor the more point and suppose or the the 13 pate as a great after to other the trainer of the anomalous he he seek if a ha less the Bear any smaller the No or any test many house the As a killing the true the material of for a story to force angul to a price of Commande to I she was here the I'm pros Charles Van Landingha I The ( must be so he some are he latter Fine is a Am I may as not aschy by we come by In a day he got The La and better a cos union, now. con weeps on typing not handle and is that he makes if I so no it be made by the ma mage of mention and maked by the die a depending

" The pick is sistem of I some seas thus hou, a sketch die benegit hi beundarin it he eas a regions were a right term ned and her remained mining or art-

The New Savier is the Monarch Televis, 1 Chies, 11 ge 1 in Thou, Happy Austria. Marry Easters on se

patities and powers, chiefly in lialy and Grand wie bill ou an easy provito the ninh ions and bough. For both Germent and maly an exercised papopal unos ... he shadow of universal povereignty Germany in the temporal and loave to the any was sphere. The German king was also Holy Roman Emperor, bound by this after to the hopeters task of enforcing his authority in Italy, and Italy was the tomb of German national unity Its own unity was prolumed by Palai ambition, for the Pope could not refer to a secular room in he las an Persona and from the days of the Conto and the Lonsburg a the much any righth contactor to those of Victor Limitable in the stadteenth, every againant for the national unerriging if Taly has had to meet the bit or eposite of the Peracy And whoth leave one Commany were raier out of the national tace and had to want three hundred cars for that nathmal conventation which their revals the tevery on the transport to the pro-

The process of the long was not piercia naterial dito go g apt teat When our ampley is among with another t ments and only a some of the store pur an a tem ter bacoming it iff end as ma tona, tion costs and past is now at the maps of A un it me the generally of Specially, which is to the special property of the state byhas a starte me of the kets to the first reand even to the character of the inhabetants. Its pentinsular form, and its singularly definite frontier on the one sale on wash it is not surrounded by the sea, give the coordinate means appearance of n y in reality it is broken up into sepaare sections by a succession of transverse mountain ranges which are cut by no great river running from north to south. The dipof the country is from east to west, and accordingly the chief givers the near the Mediterranean and flow into the Atlande "Nature," it has been said by one who knew Spain well or has also in a neg the country, seems to have suggested localism and invation to the inhabitants, who each

Ho ballew say executed and reallest real off from the rine of bours.

Fact of the a consens, unsted in the hogenth intures a figure house you do now and a substance of the dayse organization or time the the instance, is out off from the rest it have by a series of mountain systems, and mounrains are a greater barrier than the sea It was ensured the read the Brack Empire him to uppet serming we be other each Spain Line All bearing the Permises were no more when he had to grand win on the Sp. shares but the Ps enors exist upon Erance and Sound are sent rate Now Aragon books toward the exhe Medicer anean, its aspiral eis de inthe latter to the latter in Medical transport commerce made its marriage preside Carafrom the most progressive and he most prosper out part of Small. There is one did a models can amount along priparities gente, and men towar latte has is the headqualities of executive ery art threat in Spain Instead of expans to the though the se had a carmanan or as the sea and has six essents the gentle Su v am Naples These Mes et arem a some and an attention to a comme of the with Fame was the Turks and I do were he not been a f Man to the further progress the people of the A State the newer of the entropy of the many Phornight and hope And to be and water an week on a drive of the New War on the Tall mana see her on any a worthern in wit through Edbac. are San rater when a Spire trade and Sport door constitute Rand or a small the Log Channes, Conde combined to se United Kingdom in medieval poste are we droom its crusseling to I against the Meers and I was a ne speak of Viene and Pero The seasof Andafeet brought no the part was Cadiz and Calvana the command of the er trance to the Mediterranean and Areast authorins which ied Chaires V to waste in wrength. or efforts to conquer Tunis and leaders Union was not autogether attength, for with

excendib a how, he distraction between the On the or one he has the new or of Chan S and a server make at the and on which these see its mines be Medicinance Afair Figure 9 the Jun 11 is Clare I was by a con Dorth Lee e to e ... In that is not on the to i so a she be no would sever with plant amount because he could never color & actives

France was some successful become its about was no come to the to face has been its turns and au is highly comment on the sale of have not we will be to the application of and the second of the the state of the s THE WAY NAMED IN STREET Franks, did not become really French until ly and the second which Hogsenotten wrich in it, may have owed some of its tenacity to racial bury and the traditions of provincial independence At any rate, before the rise of Calvaniana the touth west of France was resenting the Cabelle and regretting its lost connection with the Enganh Crown. But for the most post unum be the real strength to France AND THE STREET OF STREET BY STREET here a me a series to the series of THE PARTY OF THE P was down . he has the sac car are in west uture or pustance of The state of the

In an an Age of the have France yet & a six miss out on the At the state of the state of the on My promote The estate of I comes we as I was to a ser too of a way to over the second to a thorn there a se to deter of I armus I the met of the cours a largely was the scorp of the sea a. so it are a la tipe French ( wm warch recasamen ne I could govern of the and permana state therein between the ch Spinante and Austrans has pre as Aragon brought to the Spanish morpar-by its cooms on Naples and Souls so Anyou brought the competing Angevin class to France and

the risk feet of revaley between the braises of A you and Assure was merged in a more or motor by a sees I at and Spain. So, too, when Louis of Orleans became Louis XII of France, he endowed the French Crown with the Visconia class. to Milan, and so apple of discord produced more strile than that feedle but ill-faued ducky.

All this expansion pointed to closer ton tact then if boards - sires deaffers on a limitages plain or weldt have little rum municipon; bist, or scop as they have neured out claims right up to their mouth Child in Egypti with the annual life of the man worch one amother more closery. It was to with these national States. Higherto diplomatte relations had been rare and agas enging a massacra with a disposit bire. emperies occasions, there they became regulamind resident. The necessity of watching one another's designs begat the modum ditomatic system, mutual adjustment of our other's disputes produced international law a set off the temporal States the tip and a pro letter elected on the true a part of the discharge the first house, and it he La year a sense a

The acceptual development of the area over which the national monarch ruled reacted upon the degree of authority which be exercised within his dominions. Every expensed for own artists to a solutions and power, and lifted him higher store his subjects. Local liberties and feudarights, which checked a Duke of Brittany ur King of Aragon, were powerless against a King of France of a King of Spain

The elecumenances of which we have been speaking in connection with the New Alignation were anothing but for analytic of the development of Paclumentary tailependence and prestige Indeed, everywhere by in length and a property of the almost disappeared. The States-General met for the last time in France before the revohuman 614 the Centes of the Spanish Peninsula grew insignificant. In Colmany the Imperial Dies and the provisions as

semblies but much of their influence, and reased to control the territorial princes. The more tendencies threatened the luture of the Hauses of Lords and Communes Partiement in the ninteenth century seemed to meet only to register the monarch's decrees and to clothe with a legal clock the naked despotism of his acts. . The uphere of royal authority encouched upon all others. all Company for a sowers tender to the centrate in royal hands. The king was he pay ber or teste had more the core of national aspirations, and the object of national reverence. In France and Spain men had many provincial parliaments, but they tale or one kirtly

ALFRED F POLLARD

17 memorely gained as much from the grove had the new ideas as he did from the de my of the old. The Benamance, the revived study of Roman Civil Law, and the Refugne in viset in a bister to be graye to if two that a san These seems por me in terminal between the low of Greek and positical despotism; but tadirectly the passion for scholarship took the zent out of politics. Moreover scholars who Works to their word and to the chief publicancies along physics offer all control of any gret-Induction than I have been been all the ments will vote hage num to successful generals, but hever a penny to a great scholar or sculptor, poor or painter for purely intellectual achievements are not as yet regarded as services to the Bute And to the host of Bernitsante scholart looked to the king and were not disappointed every New Monarch was in his way a new Muccenas, and has his reward in the praise of the world of letters, which found in little to my for purliaments as postiments found O 121 G

The lacen sauce did a more darks service to be New Assistances. Me a corner, and only to the theology literature and art of the early Charles and in one also segan to s life anew its political organization and its system of the annual expression of the rade the term of the terms of a second of the ing on a resk of the large Lesgiment Roman Impered Law seemed as superior to the barbarities of cummus law and feudal custom as chemical did to medieval Latin-England escaped with a comparatively mild armch of Roman law, because she had early been inoculated with it under Henry II. But the attack proved fatal to maturer constrations and Riman Civil Law supa smed in Jensey's stetle in France and Cermany in the Nobel and Sixth and So and Not by sub-translated the longs if the New Monte, y beger commen an come of the few a most were all of them neck a non-terpotors. The Roman L o Law on he sed aga no all another receipt per article a haber ingresses ein beimisch ab Francamaren are higher the more by more bigger an the as garden memories by the his all: Roman emperors were habitually deshed and men, the statement are a ry were signous inclined to pay similar horsours to then kins.

The Reformation used empuraged this tende as it be Roma more and her to the greatest entire flats. There has his his moveme taid any origin a with one all this had cambien a line was what and all interests to provide an amount against as hours but on in I me en-Interes danied the by a unitdiscourse is necessary on see wh free on total or many years and rack most in note on a second or sphile the me with a state with his comme of the promittee that when does an military their action on a competition, mento be the in the interest of a company of the price Chess his on Teles will in hereovering by the war alter of Class I hade to pres our by her They claimed national independence of Rome, but repudiated individual right to desent from the national Church or the national State. For he be to her americal, it not relalibility, or any rate divine metithrem and the ed outle rity to enforce its will. They proclaimed a right of registance to die Church and a duty if payare

\* Whetever pleases that Prince has the force of Law [Editor's pose]

obedience in the State. They revered in F. FROM DE NO. FE DE OF TO THE the second to the second terrival of the assumed and made to of the metheval. Now the primitive Church. a 10 to 10 t not by any means original. The writers of the New Testament and the Fathers of the Church were born into the conditions of a di ( ) 25 invested storery and as good things in themselves but as a divanely ordained remedy or punishment for the original sin of in british is a second of God, said St. Paul, and working on this a to a la man he needs that the person and authority of the ruler were so sacred that resistance to him un alent to resournce to Cood Lines. wife That was the idea horrowed by the betamen . . The Relormers ake some early Lathers propositived the dryme authorary of the State, whole and entire, to the particular infer Circumstances required a secreted him. "The new Meintab is the Nowhere was the king more emphati-4.4 h 1 h 5 mm 5 the standard of were at the seventeenth century represented as the golden age of partiamen av 45 mm let a co were at the mercy of their partiaments, and pachament in the inventmenth century washed to do the same by the Stuarts, if at Walter to the same of the same observen of the time the cluef characteristic of Lancastrian rule was its "lack of , of the state of the state of ry land a la sur re Its principal acts were to narrow the county electorate to an oligarchy by restrict

r A lange late.

holders, encluding leaveholders and copy-

holders altogether and to confine the choice of electors to local men. It was not content with age and a sent of effected with the enceutive, which it could hamper but con a in the man was the invotorate fallacy that freedom and strong proment are things incompatible, that is examine a to be the old on my if the legis after that up a curry die other Dittal to Weak a present to a cak even tire, and arrows to compel the king to we of his man when he was an also believe , take more a major that has no man of administration. It failed to realise that liberty without order is licence, that order time to state to King the years be en proced, and that a strong government is the only have a single mater P. Inp. the to ee and bu speciales responsibility; and the connecting link bewere not a Commind to be to ad n of man I can e the I am of more experiment ended in a generation of civi, war and the memory of that anarchy explains much of the Tydor despoting.

The problems of enteenth-century hisstay can only be school by realising the the is a tile are here ago also as and the humanitary government, and the strong is to the thing of a liberted but of first make make a state of the same

Su was a like to the light of Partitude to the total the re-. 1 1 21 11 12 1111 1 11 11 11 11 11 11 the cry, and both Houses passed out of the make a proper magazine or and minut on all the uphere of independent political price to in a sec of a lead to hery wanted peace, peace to pursue new avenues of the first transfer of the contract of the c tire art, and the

They cared little for parliamentary principles, and vasdy preferred that the king I the to be in the sent on a then that Parliament should impose taxes on the poor. . . The men of that day needed no charm against a momerch who CIPTOR AS THE STATE OF MARKET the national will. References to the Charter are as tare in the debates of Parliament as they are in the pages of Shakespeare. Not the less than a low we Mag a Carta discovered and the best-tisted instruments of Stuart tyronny were popular institutions entire the Luciors. Expand in he sufficient century put its trust in its princes far more hand then with attributes almost divine, no one but a Tudor poet would ever have thought of the "Divinity that doth hedge a king or have written."

Not all the water in the rough, rude one, Can wash the below off from an openioned king

The breath of worldly men connot depose The deputy elected by the Lord.

"Love for the King," wrote a Venetian of Henry VIII in his early years, "is universal with all who see him, for his Highness does not seem a person of this world, but one descended from Heaven." The new Mentals is the king

Such were the tendencies which the kings of the New Monarchy crystallised into practical weapons of absolute government. Royalty had become a caste apart

To them [the subjects] there were realizing a single the amount of Character and State and in the supremises of the both, over both. Ior, while they professed Constants are a roun forms, the State was

their real religion and the king was their Great His Priest. They were assumed with the idea that he State was he end and strike of human endeat are it was their no and her ora, It aspired doesn. are my beautiful as states. The sittle and ty many of Tudor times, undividual deliberty and conscience were as owning compared with natural interrupts. Natural 15th was a rung, presumptioners, and expent, in passion but or patience with he ties to is clearers and to the re was in's error led by a spine The New Minus ha and the emblem and the basis of their met it had a great and an incopers the part of play in the making of moviery fire also Was setting those and I the of the its greates achieveturn was has a ar en made the reception of such an experiment superferous for the future. Order is Heaven's first law; on earth it must always eo. before liberty. . . . Moral and political prim pies are the time and a on the esc ment of ages and you can no more to ge the New Vinear by by the are a tended than a new an appear of the disher canona by which you approve or condemn the act I me be any pert for he a teenth and twentieth centuries is to imply that man stands to-day where he did then, and to against the progress of four hundred

## VARIATIONS ON THE MAIN THEME

### ROLAND MOUSNIER

Professor Moustriet was born in 1907, this entire accidents life has been spent in research, writing and teaching corrected with the period from a 1500-1750, this many detringuished contributions enclude his ground-breaking about its Vencints, a bosic study of the connection between the sale of offices and the ground after a contribution to numerous other books and armore. Moustriet has been reply aprive in the week of the International Congress of the Hispancial Sciences.

# MONARCHY'S PROCESS.

Un the accessors century the majority of the se pear begins as to see a 1g topsaids o'm a many h Atru manus ha pacomment or her restrict to be as and were province to a u to a so an as well as a to the order of where go v the power to make take digital or make to levy taxes, to maintain a pentianent arthy, to a queent afficials in decide who a finite tul a also he against the above we face. and, in particular, against the royal author ity, by curue of his extraordinary puradictires as song to the loss was as in the Englishmen of many the uses of also or more rev es present to the outside us it is to be butter. If custom regulating the relations of langu onth their vascal and hit commits it does not create the closucus, in it iempered by them. "

These great states were moreover activated and united a power parameter, which mixed a suggly or hole all particular and with the releng state of the activation and with the releng state of a ward the local successor. This brisister parameter is the although very ancient, blossomes on virtue of great Resign struggles, which treated our awareness of common interests by the action of the royal officials as a result

of new economic relations; and, even more, because of the influence of he humanusts on he murtiers and the great housegoods turn gave to his sens ment which spe ng From he incomed to the order the broken and from the easies it man to a louneland, supplementary characteristics: clurity, precious form to a camping private margaret la France la literatura Pide felt that his country was mornage by a e aller we would that if was a corruer, and he ledwared his centure the ten or her "Gente de la Femues." | The French humanata processmed the appendity of France Caguin, driven by love of this nathre land, his "mother" enumerated he virtues particularly French - chivalout gallantry, the love of work and of thirf! a sweetness of life, gentleness of manners. Valeran de Vaketannes' demonstrateo that

\* Build serve has be done or graphes can up to \$5. It was a done of a promise not to mounted an equate attenued its statement sweetably was Rayman of the cutter of the cu

\* Derrich on was on the the "general of the Paristan hamistaks by the grain historian alterating, obviously to reference to the fact that he was the General of the Order of Madaging or Transfaring the late was as moord in his Latin tembook beauty. De origine et gents framework Composition (1495). Estima's note: "The French humanium historian (fedure page)."

From Roland Mountier Histoire phatrois day Civilrations Les XVI is XVI \* Satelys (Paris, % ), pp. 108–109 112- 16. Reprinted by permanent of the Fronto Universitation do France. Translated by the advant, with the sustainance of Carralyn Scalin.

France was the head of the family of mations. The Gault had conquered Greece, home, Manager gen Brane and civilized the Claripane world; while their descrodants had jubdued Germany, delivered the Papacy and liberated the Orient from the Infidels. And in these conquests, France, the missionary bearer of ideas, had arways remained faithful to her spirit of unselieshness and of idealism.

Evan Enguand had colebeated the victory of Charles Mestel over the Saraceon, because in that struggle Europe received libern, or a gift of the French. The French. in by the total divisib ness year They were informed and illuminated by the history of profound, eternas sentiments, which ar wer the idea of the Christian knight to change toto that of classical patriotism. [An example may be given]. Francis I had just tourned from Gatior the Generalise, his capturn-general of articlery, of the death of Carre wire who was fulled at the miles. Count says simply "I thank you, my Coo, for his out whom you be a me when is pleased you you have taken him back From the American man of the Lang. Tethe se o have here a some set has been courageously for you and for the country" New Color was over the to an apprent etc. ture and his son had a humanist ture.

Cambians, English, Flemish, however, were to make any to be not and an date respect In Italy, the Venetions, the Florer-There are the New solition reality as well an burmmers like Machinvelli, sought by their writing to advance the unity and the independence of Italy In the muttiple natural if he low topper the homones tike It ympheling of Strusbourg, kept alive the ment of County musty And the parentum a telned the proportions of what we would call great spe

(The progress of absolute monarchy, however we a secure to be at all sec are of alogs to increase their power By the thereased centry for any a Roman law had already recovered the untion of the absolute prince, who concentrated all power in his person and whose will was

law. The vogue of antiquity gave a new surge to a 1 months of plant with rear a and amend this harmon as of she her - the sem get one ag and beneficent. But it was not raily these cultural ideals which improved themselves on the individual and thenreforth determined his actions. The Roman law owed all the state of the first that the state of convenient mode of expression for t Mister Episterine I is The The was the mode, of a being to whom the pies yearney reaches the land the rune of absolutions enswered the domenant noods of Renausuable sursety and appearing to be a need of the whole social buly. The nacounty of a strong power was imposed also as fare by the prevalence of loteign wars. With the outblishment of great political units, strong enough to that The leasters do not be to be sorbed by intermedine urusades and ment able to devote themselves to extending their poure as well as " home See towards the establishment of exnorale unity began the great wars for mothen it and palament large a Wat necess the receive a second ranking rapid deciments, promptly and una 14° 4 14

The necessity of a strong power stemmed als sar was tasts. They were a justisposition of seriful si service de la constante corporate budges, e.g. the orders the cle an the nobdity, and Third Estate, also he cut you could be a second go ids. The monarchies made agreements, has with one group and then with another Each community, such order, had its privileger, its customs, its rulings, its minimum uses, He purisdiction, its assets, its leaders, its rep-There are a sall was a trave of treated Corporate bedies and engagemetics were up-8 ii a war amanan hagaza ing if the permitted last to the

had to be strong enough to arbitrate their

conflicts and coordinate their individual

purcies in the bolt of the comman good. Fr & to a tear gar am the apportunity in prime a policy of "dryde and commer "

The same holds true for the rivalries of the great sergetorial families -the Ebrai the Alba in Spain, the Chalons, the Vergez, the Horn and the Egment in the Low Countries and in Franche-Comté: the Doughoss, the Monttoorences, the Gustes and the Conder in France, etc. They were dangerous because of the survival of cermin feelings and practices from the Middle Ages. The ties of vanutage created for the M. P. BETTE SUPP groups of dependents — men ready to ad even in commit treaten for their have famely ties worked in his ame fashion. They were so strong the maning a ground of a great hand war a way of assuring for opeself forever the aver and protection of that nobleman. But, in return, one took a your to serve han even the king. Thus the ling found rearound the great families vast clamme groups. But he in his turn, had his own chessele of faithful and devoted vuso over against those of potential rebels, He found it easy to secure the otherwise of the revals of a trautor.

absolute mounted washed from the aptagonous of two classes, the burepeople and the robulty. The lang needed In vis., i man are ob-( I have discounted to the appoint The roral power enriched the bourgeois point to a los or humanopure, in the empty. ga me of crosen sands by the farming out a ly way man of expline tive monopolies, by giving protection against the laws of the Church on unity the same of the management as · inst the corporations. The royal power s con so an his ceal status and judicial protection to their conand in thus detend a heir and their revenues as a state the . The room also protected the bit me whints and traftsmen against the new profetariat.

potents of nobility, by parameters them to have noble bets. The bourgosts passed into the nobility and, in this sense, one can say that the bourgeouse became arluncrane But these ennobled merchants kept their bourgeois habits of suthless appetite for gain, of etimony, of calculating prudence Personal take of the contract Reserve of Arras, Chancetor of the Empire, was a good trutance. Even in the most critical mome to the at he men policy and had of the Emperor - ma fee was since new he glossed the sung statements sent by qu newards on the wheat crops and the state of the marker harder de harmer i the opportune time for selling produces and always unteripated events with more skull than did his servants. He sent four-page or rees on the prevancions to be taken at order to prevent the tors of a small inherifurner and main, when he ar same a mild be obtained to do the work, he prepared letters on the conditions of various fura ... and even refused to permit anyone to dissense bread and butter without his expin we and lotter some the time hobility and became hourgons. If, however, some of the aid most of adopters tome at habite, if such customs crept into ancient families vie wives of bourgeois origin, on the while here were two point ites the old nobility of the sword, scornful and haughty; and the new nobility, which managed only in the course of time, laboriously, and after many of its members turned to soldering to obout recognition as "quality"

C. The dream of members of the bourgeous

class was to raise themselves to noble tunk.

But only the lung was able to thus advance

them and facultates this change of social

class, by conferring upon them ennous ag

print of the opin of both

opries and abbevs, by bestowing upon them

The north a was unable of de end resett against the bourgeonie, except by the favor of the king. In general, they practiced only the profession of arms, neglected their lands and their feudar rights. Beddes, the depreciution of money decreased their incomes, bases la gets in axen rents. Of course the,

apply to could still live on to lands, content with entire in an aid he shor services of the persons but the love courts the superis are whates a the entres are far away. expen mins attracted bem I rushed itself as large past meet all be more is once lipater was a seigniorial obligation ( many jundante presents, argeste was a noble trad pur that become more and more bur gensome but the rise of he but the aste. figure even more necessary by some Niercachican semiment, to preserve as vir turn ever the worst faults of the nobility if they were to do guest themse yes from the mentions. The milite houses maintal and an army of persons, maids and vaices. Weadings were an occusion for dames, top naments, ballets and other couly speciation bunerals cailed for buryd. u is of equation special sonera chambers, progressions it the prop dressed in should og, sudows and orphans carrying tandles. sime which are up the equivalent of the annual income of a good bourgeou family At a Court Ball, they bedecked themselves anytably and extravagantly. Thus the nobleman was obliged to enter the service of the king, to solicit, according to his sand, the government of a province us of a furnised force in 1gn rept company or even an or direct paper to be nery He neight to-40 self-tone gar for the tharacages of his th idea, even abbeys and integrals in his younger aims. Against the lains, beart grounds he middlessians only deferred of his effect is rapid in aniety was by to more the king leat. It, at least in Europe west of it I be and the lumino A to, need were lever and fewer the schools feedal for is an ever common in in uniter of scientists exercising public power in their domains, contingent only on Edelity to their surerain. In their place we find an ever-growing nobleme, a greater mass of social groups to whom the head of state gave si peguir status in society with an hereditary title in exchange on their mileary service and their work in government. That superior hereditary right carried with

it hierarchical titles dukes marquis. counts, barons, etc. marks of honey and discusctions, as well as a means of caustence. Ad came is depend in the Slate.

"The groups of he classes was perhaps the punity of tactor in the development of

absolute moral clors.

BOX AND MODERNIA

Paradi sola is these aby like monarchies had, nowever less effer in a wer see real influence in the act of fe or can't district so may that even the his at democratic governments of the a responsib constant The Christian divine aware formainterial laws of the reads which expressed cet ain conditions of excitence he laws posters of perturn rights are those which secured bruggersy a generalising and a enthum set the respectation, and my and personger ail that amutes the power of he king I to was similar also be the unit a number of rocal reflicians as word as he he is its if commanager one I have an existence civil dhiers in France who e the hing had as his asspiral the most of met also ago 4 officers . I sign his number his since need to the ear 1975 2 of the alway 15 andition inhac an or one of the or every furty square he masters als 40 to 2 much more and a selety in agust ate I to every " obsentant and to be com-40 mg knowing over. The authority it the centra giverament was ever son but this barea, respective and less continuous so and effectively him and Man of the functions which is avsiere times devolve upon the state were then performed by members of the nobility, acting to seagntorial escucities, or by experations and other organized groups.

(The search of absolution did in fact permit he co-existence of unofficial groups of diverse lands at a period in their history. when their very purvisal was a stake-There was always an admixture of the idea of contract and contons, thus obvisting the excesses present at the time of tings. The composite idea permitted the reautation of a bacance between expensive conditions of dispersion and of division, it

facilitated, in the midst of struggles the trained and more unified type of State tentance er sience if brigding and a which was to be so necessary for further sowed them to move toward a move tem- progress.

13

# THE "NEW MONARCHY" AND TUDOR COVERNMENT

WALTER CECIL RICHARDSON

Perform a Picture dian has open the major portion of his condens. He at and the transfer of the Bad Park of the extreme three news and one of the extreme the extreme to the state of the extreme Alexander that extreme the extreme to the extreme the extreme to the extreme the extreme to the extreme that the extreme to the ex the Harrier 63, a A joing 2 so he she she she gave us git his as at do The historial Edward in a agreement on the board depotent violaghen. He is patrently at work on a hastury of the year of Cour-

and victors of Here's Tudor at Box worth Field on August 22, 1495, ushered an a new order as well as a "new monarchy." By a quiet and umpresscular ag and retners a power, the Tudors a at la empire nal squemar where he prove outs on near a 100 of struggle with the baronage, had fasted to at similar the concept and it was in the hands of the sovereign effected no abrupt changes in either constitutional a orms or presentates. The message is the Tudor rule fay, not in any novelty of the governmental system, but in the thoroughper a hashness mi institutions were interested and addited programmes and programmes and the traditional pattern of well-established precedent. Though numerous innovations were introduced they did not materally discupt the essential continuity of historials century administration; rather, the newer

agencies and improved administrative techniques served to strengthen the principle of conciliat government. The success of the administration rested primarily upon the officiency of its personnel and the tireless supervision of capable royal muristers, under the personal direction of king and

In the long history of feudal England is he second case that a west of the pip of Henry VII as the breaking point be tween medicialism and the risk of the natrong, state. This notion carries with at the convenient encolory that the unteenth cantury witnessed the final collapse of the system of manacial economy in the dawn of a modern era. Such an interpretation. however, overemphasizes the transitional nature of the period Despite the renaitsince ideals of wealth, power, and efficiency, the base concepts of government were motheval. Not only in estate manage-

From Walter Coull Richardson, Tador Chamber Administration, 1485-1547 (Bates Rouge, La. 1952), 89-1-2, 5, 9-10, 29-31, 442-449. Reprinted by permission of the Louisians State University

ment but in the entire field of administration, the Tudor monarchy here a strong cesembiance to the tule of a powerful medieval supersin. The king was still a feudal loste a separation type with a person and a prerogative presidention that were practiearly uplimated. His revenues from the vast demesns lands were far greater than the the pries if any light was go pries my bim, and his rights of patronage were tope of know of all morney Tenants in outile still carried the burdens of feudal incidents and feudal senure. These and other vestiges of fesidal practices pe isted for into the seventeenth century, line at a least a state of leading in ind we og after

Social and economic changes, in wagers for the notion is not morning to the the close of the Wart of the Roses. Although the transfermation was not impediately appurent, the strong Tudor rule had the effect of accelerating the movement. A vigorous for again who restored public confidence in no me a man which in the council as in the broader field of public adminuthe state of the state of the tanks of the rlung middle clames. Foreign America, commercial treation and a conmolled domentic aconomy pay if a long Make the mile they and together I regular, by roose who a new mon ting an article ander one of and the namic spheres, the pulse of the nation quickened. As becomial influence and immunity waned, the rigidity of obler munbitions gradually gave way to the flexibility. of the new By the beginning of the re-tof Henry VIII the basic principles of an Tudor system of povernment were fully destirped The away I got pract beenth century were largely an outgrowth of the car of edition with the leady outlined the politics of the future.

. .

In 1485 fack of good government, over who hadre was more a count of was previount all over the realm, but certainly such popular complemt was not new. The

enture century had been filled with wars. Green to be to the a line 1 man non a to puster The last of at . was low in conceive the new for reform more acuse. The rack aux r the stangest on har a file a da as the company of his Prants with a KTK and the state of all the party of the party of the has getter to serve as to be The first to the tent of the No more men e e e e term or a grant bear of the the late of the state of the st SC 0774 'F) J . F 31 he was they progress to the terminal referre de company see early to The grown must be only the great the sage Person 10 2 1 111 - 616 1 - 1125 stion to be after a fact

\* \* 1

Once the n. ht v had to n he , ht underp or to all a y at a for more to () x x is x r IN. of the state o mand , a l ARST CONTRACTOR except a type of the to do the Ner an and the same the light but he had not ent in of extraneous theans of raising thoney within the constitutional bants enpound upon their royal prerogative. Despite the fact that it had become near the Jan er is to meet at the contract of the of the declining and more was said 40 m ( 0 K 1 K 2 L F4 50 de la come de la como prove his motal position eventually determined w twofold screening policy of the tog: of exercise day a grate many way of the trace is the ten are reference in teamer and in the secbeining I up own resources by he arms

these ends were attrined, he had set up a new had be man new and the ter exchequer in the control of the enlarged revenue as many and the enlarged revenue as many at the control of the enlarged revenue as many at the control of the enlarged revenue as many at the control of the enlarged revenue as many at the control of the enlarged revenue as many at the control of the enlarged revenue as many at the control of the enlarged revenue as many at the control of the enlarged revenue as many at the control of the enlarged revenue as many at the control of the enlarged revenue as many at the control of the enlarged revenue as many at the control of the enlarged revenue as the co

The ordinary revenues of the control were derived chiefly from the bereditary royal estatus, which constituted the "ancient detterant." As late as the nixteenth century all the evenues derived from the royal lands were considered a part of the ordinary nevenues that had "subsisted time out of maid on the crown." Blackstone classified them as a branch of the "ordinary" revenues of the lampdom, as differentiated from the "extraordinary" revenues, by which the regular hereditary patientons of

nme. The later included the usual padaamentary subsidies, customs, grants, and special aids. Taken collectively, all the revenues may be regarded as the long a focal prerogative, which, though greatly enlarged in the statementh resistury, remained encentrally unaltered to nature during the custor. Tudor period. The later discovering

of kingshap not set having development of kingshap not set having development in nations was the king's, to be employed to his personal pushs and advantage if he the principal source of the king's recurrent income, at is not susprising that Flerry VII seized every opportunity to extend his territorial possessions.

. . .

Throughout the Middle Ages the larges household, with its offshiots, the exchaquer, chancery, chamber, and wardrobe, was the control agency for the direction of all the state of the chancery, gradualty free-tag themselves from the control of the bousehold, went "out of court" and developed with independent manonal institutions. The wardrobe and the hamber

however in inside as rade tra luncitotts of the household, carrying on the exocutive work framezly performed by the older restar to a larger return a many these two departments of the court were continually encoaching upon the jurisdic-1 6 9 1 9 1 I have been a second subject to his supervision and traffed by his own servants, both wordening and chamber could be used as notel agencies to reasing becomes ettempts to countril al-Despite the transfer of Charles of the State of the Sta sadt - g g - lan a independent homehold quantum

the financial Independent of the crown organized the king in ret it a more durer current of his revenues than was number a offsaded but under the unditions sevenue sources hance all revenues were normally paid onto the exchequer. It With Decembery to secure an order from at body for all expecteditures, both nations of a seronal. The king therefore, was not only dependent upon parament for necessary revenues to meet the running expenses of en was also forced to rely o to a grad collection h statents. This procedure was at once and the same made the mile tional processes of the medieval exchequer a coverbully slow and right. The king found is more desirable to divert, when postible, particular revenues from heir nurma explanates course to the more persona secadministration of the closer insected desurfregents. As early us t the wardednessed age a very

which received and spent the according to content the exchequer content and or collect the magned revenues pass to the word obe, but it gradually a second or collect and collect the content of the collect the content of the collect th

In the long structure between the barons and a remaining 11 between a and Richard III resorted to a similar strategy

by which they set attend threature in hide peckle are on the ark a article upt a \$100 1, who mat As at went be and. later is also the value of the transdispositic treasuries, they tunchoned as practhe all our rolling step steps of the sehold Consectionity the transfer of the collection of revenues and the auditing of ac-4 4 195 H In the 16 h 10 5 (0.50) treasury was a togical development. M though at the positions were as times, temporarily autoesaful the exchantier always managed eventually to regain Its original administrative and unadictional authority. Royal control or linance through the household departments, therefore, was but a temporary expedient Such measures were reserved to only when the crown was fitting chough to doly parlament openly and they never became a consummental part of the national cyclem, Until a thorough reform of the entire government was of focted, there was little chance that the Rivingly entreached exchanges would relittyaids its traditional sold upon the royal pure. Such a condugency grose, however, ofter the anarchy of the fateenth century 10 11 11 12 12 12 13 14 15 mental administration. The Tudor monarchy took advantage of the opportunity by

1 can 15 q qc | \_\_\_\_\_ which ultimately deprived the exchanger d to the day

In sages were begun by Henry VII in Mill for the first the first of · revenue administration was trace kutshled.

Within the framework of Tudor absolutium the chamber system was feelinged to fulfill the needs of a strong, centralized monarchy Among the many objectives to be regimed, the accumulation of a larger resi e f api in aria for a la new in the warment Tudor adventuring in European politics, as We to see a stration, emphasized the need for a full treasury, but the real problem was one of

line ng new sources of encentre. The prior ornor to the arm arm one participate that the second se min and process of the westerne h no grant ran in an elect t a hours yours by the var no restre in more to receive the new of a second to the first Si e lie i r i i extraordinary prerogative power which man a far a f turn of the sixteenth century profits from 2 25 4 4 4 

WALTER LIVIL RICHARDSON

depend as regular sources of sevenue derived from prerogative juridiction. Incidental to the development of the

prerogative was the gradual acquintion of

an enlarged crown demoune. As the royal

estates multiplied in mumber, they were gut under the control of the chamber orgamization, which in turn was expanded to hard to the state of 1 u ( v b 4 revenues that were channeled through the a ones . As home he market and the second second place of the second of the second to a to be against the a No. 1 1 2 7 1 17 the great Their page opencies, particularly the court of augmentations, at once enable, bed upon the torisdiction of the chamber and the older courts 1 1 2 1 · 1 2 server to the server to THE RESERVE OF THE RE

be the for a to the terms

per no e att tes e he a nea

and of a service of the

to a restrict to the fire great

many a runs of a reason but operated

more or less independence of each other Gradually the chamber system distrategrated, as the court of augmentations came to dominate the entire economic struc-

It is the se his man is known of the system, the more practical observices of 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 had been realized. The permanent revepure from crown hade had been greatly augmented by a min to a series to a man presigative devaces, designed to tap new water of supply, had resulted in an extransdators increase in the temporary revenucs. Not only had the newer crown agencies and resenue courts brought the sollection and extenditure of re-Photo and the second 

-----1 - ngdom being adminis 10 1 1 tion, the national exchequer, they had been 4 1 1 1 1 1 4 1. 2 4 1. 120 F 21 17 17 17 1 11 7 7 7 11 by ship of we have a special VIII - 2 - 5a C b 3 - 3 b 35 b part to fine two to 1 lashed his own privy purse, under the direct contest of some one of the trusted house-last a stage of a the profession and a

VI TO BE A TOP OF THE IS S A C CT IN TO 19 A TO SI erve as the same of the ambitious ministers in check. Despite the tendency toward overorganization the Training to the said practical. When stripped of technical termanously and togo of the de of the

and institutions were exceedingly simple In a grant hand and h servient to practical efficiency the kingly power was translated onto administrative procedures that the communest subject 1- 3 1-1 2150 11-1

Mr. was to be to a tion, feudal protestes and medieval firms crassed throughout the Tudor period, abov were not regarded by compression as innevative. In husbandry in the main tenance of revenue control, and in general administration, old customs and well-estabasked feudatory rights were untained, New policies were formulated but ancient taws and readstornal practices were perserved. Even in the teligious settlement there was a striking communy of medferal forms. The royal prerogetive in the state. longerer apply able to changing conditions. was still grounded in the feudar structure of the Middle Ages. This community of the to atomal form and parent persisted long of the property feet to the major

In all other aspects the basic principles of personal rule carried over into the seventeenth century. The Stuarts, like the Tudone were forced to accept the medieval notion that the king should live of his own The alternative was a sustenuer of all the prerogative gains. If the past century and an are entance of subservience to a resent of more expressive of the national will. It is denificant that the more more to the struggle between the Stuarts and parasiment was a financial one, centering in a dispute over questions of touriton and prerogative oncerments. Fundamentally, the problem of the formered independence of the crown was even greater in the seventeenth than in the stateenth century because of he increased ecess of administration and national detense. Purthermore there were no new sources of merme to add to the impression shed inhenuance. The argenious Tudens

have excluded here a and a some in. You'll would be much to be quarrelled in State as his way to as a mefor the second of the second If it was the mile in the Stafeton and real materials made news at the factor to be in the matrice or a of the bar howard other it The title by the state of the este of a runing he pent for there is not a reconstruction of that controlly it by the or he total li near to the or a rig-Stay to at the sent by the the state of the state of the state of a new legger to be particular to the ac ne

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# THE TUDOR REVOLUTION: THE MODERN STATE IS FORMED

G. R. ELTON

Dr. Elten wen born in 1921. After ferving Progres on a year invention was And the control of th a him en centy Le se e mi a in the grant hand the hidera and المالية المحادث في الأسالية

variety the second pould are a se the north of the AND BUT I DULL TO THE REAL PROPERTY OF THE PERSON OF THE P ted me 1 ever, it remains true that it will a me when order and paster stemed the more tent then principles and rights W ...... presided the Tudors from their F C P.O. 19 4 1 1 pros e h h h a a a a 4 1 87 4 5 One of the state of the state of the Mark of early of T by the hard have U a some it is the place of the justice of the feat to a comment CAN'S THE FAIR TO SEE BY ment these are supposedly well established this field, with the and the contract of the second conta that the second I we for one was a second tention. There is no series of monographs fessor J. E. Neales approach , has such as gradu and he of the Figure as the second

## mental volumes of Tout's great work

H a + 1 and a second of the second gas a standard at C district the state of the first of Paper or have been so 2 8 A 42 1 4 hope applicating a di tale i de la terra e State From the transfer of the government of the plant of the state of the state of the hart a mand it is a the second of the second To send the high income also of Fig. 12 and the Property of the Park and 3 p. 2 q. 31 q. 4 34 no a galar hetter informed of its themerical stan fia tour De is es es per berg n

From Gooffees Radolph Elms, The Tudor Revolution to Concernment Cambridge, 951, pp. 1-5. प्रकार के प्रवास के प्रकार के प्रकार के प्रकार के प्रकार के प्रकार की प्रका Pres.

point of may a The Fit of base of or a his anhadyment of her materialized mile Company was a new party of the tion a v. is. Consequently the emportapes of the agree of the same tea for the second

The pean fact is that Henry VII ascended the throne of a medievally goventh he will be to be modern lines. Much had gone, much been fie v as ed the product to our in the Intervening century, even though a great deal had been samply oneters I We are ann a with the author. that the simporth century saw the creation. of the modern assertion state, the duality of a march or by a second or second victory of the state the crown triumphed over its rivals, parliamentary statute triampliful art is also a set to go door to a set of early name of came to be, not the tackly accepted necesmy the second of the standards Militaries in group

In the course of this transformation there. was created a roymed machinery of government whose principle was burenueratie 4 punitation in the place of the personal conrather than management of the king's exresection of the medaval conception of the kingdom at the bing's rather his private continue, properly administered by his provale argumention, it conceived in task to K plant grown sign to be not therefore, divorced from the king's boosela M. It is one of the paradiales of sixteenththe personal power of the manurchy at its beight and the importance of court life set are which is the size of a greater than ever, could also transcend the correct of the catter of the catter needed to overcome past perhenlansm. he e re-England was not able to do withour the

de a see his a see pop the state of the s the taken it mile in beare a manufactor and a contract of the tract ul mately all constitutional progress must be I are a reand the same to as hour se o ar I r stal the parties said of the decrease all the type of ter son son a sir nor up can the Sai of the pe not a de accora se The man person is former to the die was but it is personal property of the second mb man of the of property to the property and the state of the s have a group of the same of the If y step is the contract to the die dieren benachter

This or is on many if the war og that the strucenth century saw the making of the actional water and a deal and 2 (Cars 4) (C. 1) 1 (C. 1) 1 (C. 1) play its part. There had been buteaucratic organization on a national scale for centurnes before, but the docume and ultimate. for the same of the same of the THE RESERVE THE STREET tent of the long, one national management will the vierra er and a selfa resemble up a Photon I was a tag of provide a by max march at a second to have an die of man exp. - te -household government to a and the see a killing tion wide, and its administrative needs, changes after 1530 in all sections of adminm finance, the way as he krag as each a state century history that a dynasty, which saw then by a second to the second me he are no me man of the purely persuna, view of the royal duty and one a month to me a rought and a rought some and La to of and state. The personal importes was a real red than have the restitutions at

One of the outstanding differences be-

twoen the medieval and modern periods lies. in their annuale to individuals, in the modten H I I I asembe personal responsibility. Individuals die for man el contrato monte de di Les her A rank to adanything to do with the humanist revival of ancient ideas on such reatters and with the Renameance worship of the individual, it is a fact which is also, once again, re-E. . . De sia conse personal material to a way that nothing medieval as, at has been said that they "make I a a mer a 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 expansion to from character and personality mate papers are largely what remain of the private archives of Henry VIII's accord great minuser Thomas Commed There and other papers, but their bulk does not compare with the produce of Crowell's possite office. There is a danger to this, it. his age in much because his papers have survived. The accident of presentation pught not to be ignored, but it must not be overstressed. Even a casual glance duries that the scope of Cosmwell's influence, the entent of his activity and power, and the attitude to him of others made him a six and case he was outstanding, and the record, though it may occasionally fail to \_\_\_\_\_\_e the activities and gundi of others, cannot really he suspected of senous distortion when it sets the stamp of Cromwell on nearly everything done to those ten years.

A more realistic view of Cromwell can thus he obtained from a study of his work to government, but that is, after all, a by-374 44 4 755 54 37 24 10 511 3 34 every turn to the story of administrative reform. If, as we hope to do, we can show the persistence of medieval methods down to 1529 and the subsequent modernization

en the great sesses of state and church as

well as in the details of daily government

of government, we shall have done sumething to restore to the sixteenth century, and in pernature to the age of the Reformanon, an old character as a time of real change. More and more the Tutter century is coming to be regarded as merely an ex-

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the middle ages, and due is a terious error There is, let it be admitted. much danger in too easy a use of such terms as medieval and modern, and since they will have to be used much a word of explanation is due. Naturally many very typically medieval facts and opinions per stated into very secent days, even as many facts and opinions uppe thought of an typically modern have been traced back min the high middle ages. Naturally 100. any rigid division of past fie into chronelogical periods can only less to disinter Hus he would be a bole man, and a beebineman, who would deny the extremee of periods - even of moments in time when things underwent chings on a touted that any the world "so you adequately describe them and only a firm date can place them. Such a period, such a the second or the second Henry VIII accepted Cromwell's advace to

consolidate the territory be governor under the eschados appeteignes of the long to preliament. An attende to the rule hat can only be cauted measured was a that moment replaced by one that can only be called modern. It will serve lattle purpose to quarry) over words let these two terms be used as convenient summaries of thescanable historical facts. When this minorin at all the beautiful

to a place of the medevar at a in which king, parloanest, and even the nation accurred a much less assertained place not everything that has gone before was destroyed - not given man of a put lack of true appearingning was at the heart of the earlier dispersaulter, and the supremacy of the king to markament was at a heart of the new. Where it matiered most a change had occurred which ent des us to are a of a revolution from the medieva, to to modern state.

Methods of government reflect the constitution of the state they serve. Medieval. household methods served the medieval state modern national methods served the modern ration trate. In that sense the terms are permissible to a discussion of administrutive history. No one will doubt that the gweenment of the fourteenth century was fundamentally different from that of the seventeenth. This difference lay in the abolition of the balt-formal household methods characteristic of the raiddle ages, and in the adoption of the bureaucrane national mesh da characteristic of modern times, so much is common ground. That this change, this absliced and adoption was innegurated up the ten years between . 530 and 1540 shall now be shown.

The period from the barde of Bornet (1471) to the death of Henry VII (1509) murks the recovery and renewed consolidadon of medieval langular. The so-called The tent of the sent of the known on the point of joining other tradetions' cutegories of historical writing to the humber-tisim, 1485 may soon be a date of a little againstance on 1760 has been series Professor Namer's researches More and Hira new year All to the plant of all the of all to be open to the first the terminal p I set yet yet to the district of the control of th n h 6 q Who is a property of the second

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even the objects - of government changed en es F administrative machinery, the whole period cannot be understood unless the charactertitle of medieval government, namely household action, is kept in mind. Where to be promised to any head to to make a laborate of the the it to here in I m took som it est of information and histories mingled they mor be with survivals to m the past, we may justly suspect the beginrungs of a new attitude to government which for want of a better word me call modern. By this definition, which alone gives point to any classification of fifteenth-

IV Richard III and Henry VII mere thoroughly medieval (as the following pages will show), though none the less trong and effective rulers. Medieval government, as Edward I proved conclusively.

in attempting to disentingle the man TT leaves the record is much fuller for therety VII. his dynam's thereughly and skillfully, for which remons the many of the transitions throughout these forty years than to make an artificial division at the years 1485.

The reign of Hewy VIII falls naturally into three maps; and two motor divisions: Wolsey's supremite, Cromwell's rule, and the last seven years on the one hand, with the first three vetes and the interfude between one of these periods has a character of its own; there is remarkably little uniformity about this thurveight years reign of our king. Lack of colour and precine our limp are typical of the two short periods.

more bungers and the and 579 3.7 m. . The in blesses in any he state an The Art h houses a nin bara has been are en . la red administration at have and an weakness mark Worso a ser a mare en he gram the state of the s the second secon Cronwell's time vacillation, tack of deec-For the ATAP INDE make Henry's last years a period of frequent famure and few achievements. To some exte are commented un to altering circumstances, but the undisper ble fact that such problems as arme No. 2 10 15 No. 12 (28) ion at different times caused be so exs ned Each section of the reign differed from the rest to a manner which can only ranonally derive from changes in the men who directed affairs. The king our always there, and through no doubt his character. ing age, there is no development along any 6 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 make it pumble to see in these periods no more than the history of one men's life. I 10 cgs pared. This fact in study gives a long way not, despite his overpowering personality own policy of course he alone could turn if anto his own, but he did not invent it and rebed on others for the mind that must referencement

This is insportant. The government of it was at one time in the hands of two explored curdinal and last medieval classically, at another in that of the "new man" Thomas Comwell, layman and principal secretary, at a third in that of an immune and faction colden band. If we wish to understand the history of administration at this time we must understand something of the men who administrated. Wolsey, easier to all in state at a judge and to manny

what we if I'm prom a diprecontented himself with administering the country as he found it. Household finance. the traditional scale, a household starlf inseeffe hat a regard of the or the real duties, a council on the verge of turning mito a court but unable so act as a board of government and hamper the turnster, these was the way purchase for supplies of the same well, on the other hand was to show himself less essily satisfied and he attacked the "medievalism" of English administrative institutions - the household core - in eve v particular, not of course sweeping the board na contact on so he changing everything profoundly. Wolsey had looked after the administration pecause he wanted central and freedom to put his teller also plan and it has in the larger in righ phicy Leamwell engaged in relativtening the very beau of the state, found it necessary to remodel its government. It that as his agent is an in the fit kind of mind and attitude he brought to and a second of the second of Comwel a modern type of Fig. sh statesman took up the reins of power the tay businessman and bureaucrat of genius whose sober dress has neither the flast of steel not the cardinal's scartet. Government hed always been a professional business for the mak and file, now the man at the top was to be a professional and speciment too.

It will be well to review the conclusions a many arrived at. It has been shown that between 1530 and 1542... "household" methods and instruments were replaced by national bureaucratic methods and instruments. The household, driven from the work of administration in which for centures it had acted as a maintaining and reserve, became a department of state concerned with aparticular tasks about the hings person, tinance feel to praional instrutions tasher thus to the personal servants of the king and those household offices which administered it before 1530, the accordary of state and the privy council

supped out of he household on to the The territor of the Education of the Control of the e Rich was at high a dester jets not if you have it he waste and

I would, of course, be wrong either to see no agree of such changes betage 1530 or The in the case of to if hat minima a lamp X are rapidity and volume of change the clearly itel becase application of one principle to all the different sections of the central porernment, and the pronounced ascess abtrined in approving that principle, justify one in scenng in those years a veritable acommunity we revolution. Its starts in forther demonstrated and indeed caused by the personality which appears in every appear of it Thomas Counsel whose own enter disputed the hipsaucrat, was behind that desiberate and profound reforming

Whether the new administration was name effective that the old to not the ourse and the second second second to that point. Undoubtedly Greenweis and his aminimum and successors believed it has be so, or they would not have taloured to number at Undoubtedly 100, the theory of a mational bureauctary was more efficient than that of a household administration, since it depended but on the vigour div played by the uncereign and was seen bound up with his life. Community and the diviour of always are the addingrees of haveaucrucy they were as marked in the medieval ev a ger and chancery as shey are to any hyden governmen depar ment. But while the household remained the obtinate source of action, individual qualities and behaviour country for more than the trade-Bont of a dejustment, to that extent the end of househole administration was bound to assure greater relability and efficiency However, traditions take their time to grove, and Tudor government communed to depend on personality undered, government

1 . 5 while street of generament. come out to an a state of a ter-Water total a second of the fall only reduced the thoroughness, bones and efficiency of the system he had be-

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In the property the Wars of the Roses compelled Edward Il allow a mark new or The same of the same 4 4 4 15 17-17 The second of th a r

I) reforms of the 1559's, the luminum retrigation of government uncoreded in abfaining that continuity which marks must ern government and prevents real anarchy even in days of coal war In this most general aspect of efficiency the reforms did

Tene administrative revolutions are an 

changing conditions and the desires of new . 4 4 4 4 44 red feudal state governed by the lang to lies ly ny produced a system which endured until a new land of polite arous Even though orl of a part was because a even though all offices and even the household meth achieved a high degree of buresuscratuscion, the true driving force of the same and the same The many the All such matters. Henry VII's death proper process the prime too the ten rais of our

1537's did near than unprese dem s of the many than the state of the e de le marie de neut se to a de a the brusehold was replaced by one based exchangly up bureaucraic department are for a contract the m government Pr c sr se qued War born a margin se distrib St 16 JC. C C C C D 1.10 nn nd 20 mm n n n n n 52 4. 0 to 1 . 48 pt 2 1 00 2 12 1 1 1 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 2 for my to the a te at as an an an an an analysis of CANADA TA TATAL AND THE TATAL to be a promotion to the reased to bold the altimate control Medieval government was government by the 1 e serpe p E-ST FS-10- TO HE HAVE price e a crancally organized as national departments, but responsible to the crown. In present day house of commons. It is important to note that these changes are most accurately or flected in what must be the basts of any administrative atract in, the civil service melf. The medieval homeboad system was served by men recruited from church and bousehold the middle period used clients CLUBER C C H TO N K ESSC - L & TERE - 1 F take a wind and the more and a

to tall that was a market of Il to the beat then, only three ad manufactive revolutions, though many more changes and reforms, in English history As stoods be expected, they were the work of denoming the interpretation of agest when after a light man from a more of the man and the man a or I grey we take the appendight founder revolutions after any the nature of the society which they served. The Anglo-Norman system was devised to fit the towalted-leudal state, the state ruled by kings who were the heads of he feudal perample and the perional source of all govconsuent. The reforms of the moreteenth century produced an administration suitable for a parliamentary democracy, and the beginning of real administrative reform coincided uguificantly with the laying of the foundament for that state - the excepson of the franchise and the six is the of the secret bailor. In my time the Tunner revolution in government also conscided with changes up the structure of society and of politica. It accompanied, resulted from.

manner assisted to the creution of the monarchic eatton state which prevailed in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and et a could enturies Talk of a "new monarchy. in the natoenth century has become a Lide unfashionable of late, while historium of thought associate the beginning of "mostern times" with the assenable revolution of the seventeenth century. These views are assuredly a healthy and timely reaction against the old-fashemed distant which for morance ignored the many things in Tudor England dust were exentially medieval. But in some ways the reaction has gone too for as regards put neal one wortal structure, the statrenth century produced something quite new in England - the self-contained sovereign state in which no power on earth could challenge the supremany of suprate made by the slown as pales ment. It will not do to defluence the Refor-

he has certains been obscured by l'adors as one homogeneous period to which the Yorkists ought to be added as permaynes and forerunners Any view which would mark a really significant change in either 1471 or 1485 is indeed bound to fail But If we admit the be-Tudors' were not simply a rather state. In established in position by Henry VII and thereafter content to copy his ways, if we endeavour to meet the real lines of change

and development in a century whose dynames have been neglected because it came before any after it - d we do this, we are meantably forced to see quite astrophiimply revolutionary changes as the 1530's. Any attempt to play down the effect of Henry VIII's potitical Reformation because It was not based on noticeable changes in mental atmosphere (inelf a dubtout enough thing) puts a very largued care durling a mile to banker by the season of relater more often than not political events precivil Boll a ce luch from 8 m are en anomly the result of physical forces and Retto Billion in the States and the States

que along after the party in offer his quita of ideas in explanation and justifier then I is enough I one man knows what he is alxist - one Thomas Crosswell, at teast, knew that The establishment of the toyal supremocy over the Church, the expulsion of the pope, and the avertion of the unlimited toverer, is 4 about aceco the for adaption it may a prove date the lety and past topped only new in their

place. Threats More knew well why he opposed the write of Christendors to an act teemed stable in comparison with those that of parasanent, and Thomas Comwell knew equally well what his assertion of the omni-competence of purhament meant. They both knew that they were witness ... a sevolution. The general intellectual spiritual effects of the revolution came later - is elfects, not cruses; but that does not make it any less of a revolution. This is not to deny that symposmane industries can be Figure for a nor that further changes were necessary fater It is to amers, however, that in the years between the fall of Wilsey and the tall of Commuels the changes are crowded tope ber to thuldy and so deliberately that un'y the teem 'revolution can describe what happened. In this revolution, in a making of a new kind of state productive of a new land of society, the administrative reforms which have here been discussed to did fact in the control of the ground of connoiled upbeaval that they they be not a popular to be not used.

## THE BURGUNDIAN STATE

#### HENRI PIRENNE

The late Herst Purpose was born in Verviers, Balancia, in 1862. For many years he samed as Professor of Medieval History of the University of Ghant Many of the chief works have been translated into English, making the great historian as well known on this side of the Ationlic as he come to be in Europe this seven volume thistory of Belgium a merely are of but many works but it represented the full emport of his interests in economic and social like year and the resolutioners offers his studies had an Belgion Nation. Among his estion important works the following stand out: Belgion Democracy. Its Early History Medieval Cities Mehammed and Charlemeans Eculomete and Social increase of Mesonal Europe. The essay here recrimed was that presented as an address to the International Congress of Makerical Sciences at Barlin, August

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he seen curved on the fronts of their town built and on the se times of dan charcher. Circle of Burgundy is the name go en tinder Maximi ian und under Charles the Fifth to the circle of the Empire which embraced these lands. In the early part of the sateenth century, it is true, the humanists gave up the old appellation and submituted that of Belgion of Belgium, which west supplied to them by untiquity, and which, rea opearing after centuries, designates the kingdom of Bergium to-day Nevertheless, even in the seventeenth century, curious traces of the early state of afform are to be found. It win be sufficient to call to mind here that at the end of the Spanish regime the venels of the Catholic Netherlands (the Belgium of to-day) still bore on their flags the arms of the house obnugundy.

The name, indeed, is merely a detail The essential thing is to prove the long duration of this Burgundian state, each lithen at the dawn of modern times between France and Germany, and reprekingdom of Brigium and Hotland. From the lifteenth century until the great upheaval produced by the French conquest at the end of the eighteenth, Burgandan in Rifutions remained at the basis of the inniturious of these two countries whose pe of destinies were so different, and is can be said with absolute truth that both of them, the Republic of the United Provfrees and the Catholic Netherlands, setained to the end the clear y defined matks. of heir remmon Burgundian origin

In spite of appearances, then, and nor withstanding the great transformations telon is similar to the late of he exteenth century, through the separation of the Calvinss provinces of the north from the Cathetic provinces of the south and later in the course of the seventeenth curs tury through the conquests of Louis XIV in Arton, Flanders and Hatnaut, the Bura teat and for a teat of the many This tength of lite may at him sight appear remarkable, for it would seem that the characteristics which made it a thing a tre in Europe, denied to it all the contion or a big to he maintenance of a political mesons

It must first be made clear that although , hard regy as arming capes Ter to the property the to the true you is a restore or a la dead states, it was the work of a proncely house, and not of a tropsarely, and, again like data of the same of the same of the same of a sequency undependent of one atother But while the other terrmortal states were built up of distincts subject to the same surerainty, it minted regions depend ent on Germany (Braham, Hangari, Hollarel, Zeeland, Lunemburg, etc.) with regions dependent no France (Arton, Flanlett. It included within its frontiers a fragment of even at the two great states. between which is lay In princes, until the reign of Charles V., were at the same time visith of the emperors and visuals of the Velots In short, the Burgundan state appears to in as ementially a frontier state, or, to speak more marchy, as a state mode up of the frontier provinces of two langious, The Scheldt, the most important of its commercial nation, separated Francia Occideutalis from Francis Orientalis, from the time of the Treaty of Verden, 843

Of a hybrid mature even from this first point of view the Burgundian state was sall trust so if we consider the peoples who awelt in it. It was ensued not only by a litical, but also by a linguistic frentier. along unity of feudal deperatence, it DA 11 SAN E W SW NS na s I se I se se o a group of Centrarie population. Walsome occupied all the southern portions -Namur Hamaun, Artois, Gallic Flanders and southern Brobant, while people of Netherland speech, of Frankish or I origin, dwelt in the northern provinces. 1 fin to he come a second still more a frontier state between two longues. By a singular concidence, it con-Riturn at the same time the point of con-

tact between the two great states of Westem Europe. France and Germany, and the two great peoples that have formed Euroy y was a second

finally un addition in these two proult arries we must menous a third. For the Burgundeza state had no more geographic than it had comment or linguistic unity. Exceps in the southeast where it was protected by the hills of the Ardennes, it was common all sides. Outlined on the great of northern Europe, it presented no natural distacles, either on the side of Germany or on that of France. Of the three even which crossed it, the Rhose, the Meme and the Scholde not one has a source on Basquadian sect

Thus, from whatever side it is regarded

at and a second at the second pr I I in the face of nature and of history And in fact, in the Miscoth century, Charles VIII TO THE EN . 14 4 4 4 In our days a large number of hutorians herj i e If a work or companion and venezio in completed by trainmous process who en N WE T PERSON LAND which they sprang by raising again a aval proves In the Netherlands where there is no bolk of written who, take mg into account solely the resistance mixed to se the · Les of Burgundy see in the latter notransling underfoot the national liberties, and trong there success to victorice alone. To report the free or the the reason of he was a

occupations as by an abstract to a on-

tions of existence in the sucrety of the end of the Middle Ages, have no correspondence in historical fact. Far from having suddealy interrupted he course of destiny on the Netherlands, and their mong its birds merely to the caption of hold adventurers, the Burgundian state appeared as the climax of a long e-orien evolution. It was the result of the come attors of a number of political, social and economic forces, the action of which begins to be perceptible in the carly Manue Ages, in those frontier territories which is brough together in of appearances, its constitution. migh at first light strange, is perfect al. The special characteristics which t examples have a north the earlier bispacy of the Notier and L doubtedly a combination of fact the inestimatances, or the chance, if such it may or called which at a given moment x me throw open micros sum, and causes the nutbreak of mis are and distonatic conflicts, cor and largely to the success of the work achieves in he duker of Borgandy Bu see a financial with all burnan rooms, he is it is its pretant doing an this can o compatish. beneath the ball in by of cliange

which fails to take into account the condi-

The system of the state of the 1 114 - 114 ( connection to the second second palities did not of themselves see the Burgundan rule, at less it is cless in

ing curymumices, the property and party

nent tendency, of which here circum

stances have done no more than to hasten

pastife Pineses s view of the minutes and the

The antification of the provinces content the variety of the content of the conte

be final result? 5

they accepted it without serious rema-

Charles the Bold (1467-1477) completed and at the same time endangered the work of his father.2 He completed it in St h C h and Freedand, the arenessamp of which was to make of the Zuydes Zee a Burgandian lake. He enuangemed it on the other hand by the violence of his ambition, which, after having rendered all his nablects discontented led him finally to the actuatrophe of Nancy There is nothing associating to the speedy outbreak of an almon unarathous reaction against the shoot sale. To be sure, the Burgarulian provinces did not teck to separate from one another. The Great Privilege which they forced the heof Chatter the Boad to great there in \$477. refi their union unbroken. But by subustuting for the power of the prince die power of the States Leneral as the central authorize of the sinte, they actually transformed the state into a confederation of Bullimmous terestories is was too avadent that such a confederation would have been excepable of defending inell against such an adversity as Louis XI., whose policy immer ately after Nancy atmed at the complete ruin of the home of Hurgundy And to, terreely had Maximilian of Austria may ned Mary of Burgursoy when he is found devoting finite I energetically to the restoration of the miniarcialist regime art up by his predecement. From 1477 to 1493, he by reinted the territorial partiety tarium openic anatomed by France, which used against him the suspicions heed by the fact has he was a foreigner. But when with Ph p the Pair (1993- 506) a natural prince again many ed the throne, the logground was at once regained. The princely prerogatives were again in force, the great pentral institutions of the state were restores, and the States General, instead of personne in their role of systematic oppoption, henceforth co-operated with the severeign. It is from this time forward that

the Burgundsan rule became popular in the Netherlands, and sent down, so to speak for-reaching roots. The great nobles, part of whom, under Maximilian, had taken

thenselves in a both about him, entered by councils and shared the highest offices of the state, the maintenance of which became the indispensable condition of the prestage which they enjoyed.

s is the Fundamental time time time the disposition to pursue the projects of Charles the Bold and of Maustuban onth regard to Cucklen and Freshand His reign, ementially pacific, went no further than the strengthening of the smoon betweets the old provinces, and saw the necomplishment of no conqueue. But Charles V was to complete the appearations which constituted, after 1543, the sinion of the seventeen provinces. He won Tournay from Trance in 1521, acquired Friedland in 1523, Overvisel and Huechi in 1928, Groningen us 2536, and faulty Goolders in 1543. Henceforth the Burgundson state was compiere, and would receive no feather aggrega-

the those brought ab

The very energetic resistance which he had to overcome, and which was directed almost continually by the famous Duke Charles of Guelders, is not fully emplained by the energetic intervention of Frances 1 in the line of the Necherlands, to understand

about by the ensperm had had, utatil the the time which had easied between then those which had easied between the latter street the early Middle Ages. Gueldess was more Genuso than Netherlandiah. As for Friedland and its dependencies, where dwelt a population as different in its space, as in its state for the different in its space, as in its state for the different in the space, as in its state for the different in the space, as in its state for the different in the space, as in its state for the different in the space, as in the state of the different in the space as the state of the different in the space as the state of the different in th

which were farally morestal under Charles V., proved that his conquests on the right built of the Zavder Zee and the Yssel were something more than the results of his ambition. To complete the building of the Actherlands and assure their security it was indepeniable that they should be round on all rides the inland sex which andented them on the North and that they should about the ductor of Gueiden, the 1 and of which, advancing between the Mease and the Waat, menated at the same time Unocht Ho and and Bisbant Charles V, in uniting them to the tertitories of the west did no more as we have seen above, than take his inspiration from a plan already completely outlined in the

reof Ourley the Bold

This assemblage of seventeen provinces, then, had flomenic and hall Germanic which consultated the Burgundian state at en completion, was composed of two clearly dittract groups of territories. The first lying in the busine of the Merio and the Scheldt and extending along the North Ser wen of the Zuyder Zee, trux formed during the reign of Philip the Good, by vietue of a long historic evolution and without encountering serious opposition, except in the terrotory of Large, which represented its aut morns in 1477, and retained at unt lithe end of the eighteenth century. The secondon the contrart 4 necessary aggrandate. ment of the Burgurshan pursuants, you the result of a war of conquest, and was built up only by means of violent annexs. tions. Still, once accomplished these annegations were permanent. The advantages which they found in their antiquenth the Burgandian state some reconciled the popul lations which had struggled with the great est energy against it. Thereteforth they no langer sought a separation. It is true that they always played a less active part than the old provinces in the political life of the state, and it was only toward the end of the someonth century that the constitution of the Republic of the United Provinces attached them indivisibly to the servitories of the west.

At the same time dut the Burgundian state was forming by the union of the ermovies of the Netherlands under the authority of a single dynasty, it finally severed the ties, thready largered, who stal bound it to France and Committee Al. ready in 1435 by the peace of Arma, Philip the Good had secured from Charles VII release from his position as yours of the crown. On the other hand, he neglected to pay homage to the emperor for his Lutharington lands, so dust be appeared in reality as an independent magazit. The mergary of the apcient kingdom of Lotlutte certainly haunter his mind and the monds of his principal coupsessors, and inspired him with the attibason to obtain a his jura a row, the low son Charles was for an instant on the print of techning this project, which would have set the hand seal on the sovereignty of his home, and if after him there was no longer

 across question of raising the Netherlands to the rank of a kingdom, the political autonomy of the equatry none the less continued to gain strong h. Under Chance. V the treaties of Madrid and Cambra rendered perpetual the concernion granted by Charles VII to Phys he Good; the dependence on France was forever about ished in Arton and its Fluidiers, the Scheldt finally ceased to mark on the map a political frontier It might seem at first right that this advantage wrong by the lamperor from his adversary would be of profit to the Earpine. This was not the case. Charles V. acted to the Actheriands as the successor of the dukes of hurgandy and his power only second to make definitive their separation from Germany The convention of Augsburg (1548) established them, under the name of Circle of Burgandy, as an independent state. II. in appearance, it accognised them self as an integral part of the Empire, in reality it deteched them from it for it accorded them, in all its essential features, the attributes of soveraugney. Thus ended, under the great-grandson of Charles the Bold, the long history process whose principal photes we have endeavored to sketch. The double move-

Philip the Good, 1419-1467 [Edina's mote].

psent begun to the teach century had crosse to an end; the provinces of the Netherand we can be not a fee Property of the Property of th agh 16 day a he cord that bound regether the seventien prosunces was securely ned, it broke at the end of the sisteenth contrary do no il the note a se il terevolution against Spain and the religious

An agglemention of principalities long magazine of one another, the Burgunut state dis line in it is not adprinciple of personal union. I see or conqueen of the different territories great ther because in a look of a man a rarb ra gas a povereignty. Instend of bearing a single title. ake a king, he was crothed with a midt rude. of special rules. He was at the same time doke of Brahans, count of I anders, rount of flamout, count of I dland, esc., esc. Ina ing beneath his scepthow preserved its auto is to a ser-Milution, its special - is more interespensions, nor in its loy at first night than this a second are amalgamation of small states in care top of which the common prince ruled only no the safeteness of the former local prince. By this is no y one aspect of the maner From the personal a certain unity of general transactions and the diskey, he dist of all the princes of the to a recal of monaryly expense of the local government and of the

a veleges which their various lands had

observed from their process first, by

s in remaining moral holds of the superior

authority and, second, by enablishing,

with a view to the general administration

and above the greater number of local g w

graments, a certain number of central

stitutions. As it appeared as the nine of

Plain the Good, and as it remained under

Chi V, at the time of its fullest devel-

apprent, the Burgandian state may be de-

fixed as a pleasity of autonomous territrees forming a monarchical anity. A conequilibrium was established by the force of things between the local bherries a home to word in a been a arrived at absolution, but it had to take into bat it was unable to overcome. In each province it was obliged in respect the old and then the Francisco so a galler die Lat. Command and the same while mesting medieval preticularium with

That political controllisation was, moreever, favored by the social and accommic changes which characterized the afternth century. It would be quite unjust to entinder it as exclusively the work of the dytravity and inspired by its interests alone. Inpoint of fact the princely interest was inmeny respects intrinsiely allied with the general interest. The nescent capitalism T<sub>it</sub> F<sub>it</sub> exclusing along with it, suffered from a , transport bequeached by the Middle 5 a . . . . . . . . . . . . The state of the s di z p this de the state of the state make a contract of the contract at the property of the total the of the transfer and the second de in agreery of the pro-, the is they be an a comme The allement that are a since For any property and a bea wage they to an I be laures or them present a more a and prorgatives that had had their care Northing is more characteristic on this point than The I was to be at set read Long. I have have case, economic exclusiveness were band in hand with renamor to the progress of polb a to the total of the total o and introvatore sount which implied the Be a property of the second ful ally of the ducal government. In short, the more a city had been posseged to the Middle Ages, the more it registed the new tegatie, and therefore there is nothing astonishing in the fact that it is especially in Planders, where the cities, during outlier centumes, had surposted those of all other territories an freedom and influence, the the Burgundian policy found its most reve Inte per But the resistance of Handers was in-seed by the past and not The second secon hem to the government They did not at not in their power to see - all the establishment of the lk in the Northerlands displacement of the economic equilibrium, and that the compart of e o<sub>h</sub> house of Burgandy into the provinctal ad-Di T of the times, that before It N n n , 11 13 I A La a la la la la 4 4 Cheesber ensutated at Lille in 1386 by To the Bold. This council chamber which was own subdivided into a court of justice (the Council of Flanders) and a chamber of accounts, was the first modern administrative amministion which the Netl-

estands had known. Similar matitudions

dess. Hamaut Lauemburg, the tham are of accounts of Brussels and the Hague,

A 12 1 1 1 1

were introduced lote the other provinces as they passed under Burgundian sway Everywhere they had as results the substrtation of educated magistrates for the communal aldermen (schevers) the restriction of superannuated privileges to the advantage of the "common good," the disappearance from the law of a multitude of probate a term to be a section of law or to the practice of appear the organi size of the pursuit of crimmals, etc. The chambers of accounts brought the administration of the finances to a regular accountability, exercited a permanent control over the receipts and expenses of all officials, and allowed alterations in the dutubution of the taxes, rendering them more equitable 1 is inconto the territorial and and are to 3 to reputation for excellence that st enjoyed, and of this there is no need of other proof has the fact that it served as a model to Maxim, an for the reform he astronuced into Austria. 5 was natural, it is from France, where surchical government was from he thirteenth century on so thoroughly developed, that the dukes borrowed a laste

part of their administrative system. I they were for from amply copie ig the Instruumes of dux langdom. On the contrave they altered them considerably in adapt en er in ger nichten collettere emittea no no period, and this was or on a man a const g a op o agall -Se da part 10 property of the second of the Netherlands. These assistants because less and less necessary an people tena new concentration and they had norme completely dua general . the second Balf of the liberath century

We have said above that the entitlists ment of mountehand instruments did not pro on without arousing philest and, at least sa fue no grad and the provinces, the cities had acquired a dominant influence, and the pulicy of centralization found melf consequently more or less openly at odds with the urban policy.

But, favored by the economic monifestations which were undermising the latter, it triumphed everywhere without great excome the man on the second large measure of autonomy, were obline to recognize the superior authority of the state, submit to its central, and contribute to the public expenses. If the tank and file of the water to the tree of to the old promple of managed exchange new we which rested the convenient indo re on sore e of the trades, the great Bir to be after the collection of the first traty raided very soon to a system of govemment in which the "company good" took the place of privilege and in which municipal freedom was restrained only for the securing of a larger freedom. Moreover THE HEAD OF THE READ OF v is patriciate with a new and lucrative were all the a Phase with the all mostern states, contributed proverfully to rally the well-to-do clause to the monarchical nigime which was the condition. of its much equipes

Misch jess powerful than the cities, the cle and the nobil ty showed also less opwe see to the Burgundian innovations." The excellent relations which the dukes Historia at space the state organic - 4 fg p q to a man that it is a me at the state of th a as to Ja as no a single The party of the same of the s happen y or or order or old to see the White property of the property age to the Art for the color of from the first a not got with rum. beg a star of serviced a starter apprent of the party of the property of IN the state of the state of the the of the or the and are an are sold and some party Cts d II A of the property of p s 0 s

e and available proposes

remained, everywhere the Estates retained the right of veting she taxes and prophere war of the base of the square and the second washing con a frage of the same I promote to the second to it to all a grant part or I to war as a series to the terminal to the terminal term Plant of the particular company ber ca to destroy our of the rese Ji Con the men of the m plan a care B FR. 10 - A central austitutions extending their action to a to the same 1 98 4 4 9 8 8 1<sub>6</sub> for the second second ready been united under the rule of a tingle prince it is not absentially that they dynamic union brought about the dightest The proof of the second mught car it PLJ 5 The state of the s -----I may a n rest ve a ta til a to to to of the same of the to at a se fan me e e e place Caucat Inc. 190 St. 190 3 18 4 4 P. nege abs programme and a re-s or s successful p property of the second linequent were the for the Claries the Boyl was ground a serifice

Merhlin under the name of Porlement; a trame which it lost under Philip the Fair, to reassume and return until the end of the eighteenth century that of Great Council As for the polineal council, a new specialstation of its functions divided it, under Charles V., into three urparate councils residing at Brussels, the council of state (political affairs), the priry council (conmercenal and administrative affarmed The same world at in a larger for potential tentative, the lieutenant-governor. Hence-1 1 1 ... powinces, there mosted a general government which, acting in the same manner upon each of them, united them in a com-Ph. 199 11 10 some fashion, in the same primeal life And as we have shown above for the property of the end of the filtrenth century took on a na tional character and excluded the foreigners that were numerous at the ounce. Brussels, which was its text, and in which after 1931 the invertigit's representative resided, became the capital of the Netherlands ing of its posuliarities, the central governcharged with developing and applying " is States General by Philip the Good in 1463 gave the representatives of the country a part so it. This great amembly, made up of 

to this provided the mon porent of the means of amiscarian which had beought rogether the seventeen Burgundian provinces. Finally, just as the distanchical institute.

The second of the seventeen Burgundian provinces. Finally, just as the distanchical institute.

The second of the

Thus particularism remained as powerful beside the central organ of national representation as beside the institutions of monarchical power, and from whatever side it is conserved the same spectacle of modern presented the same spectacle of modern two measure acover and one revise discourse below.

But while diversity did not increase, any fication realized constant progress in the course of the fifteenth and stateenth centuries. The creation of the Order of the Golden Floere in 1430 attached to the person of the prince all the great nobility of the Netherlands, and thus put at his disprotoon, in the different territories, the enternous ascendance which a self-On the other hand, the new or a standing acray (bunder d'ordonnauce) under Charles the Bold enabled the clukes to take to a grant and a read of the first party and the state at the company of the party of mes of government frame as a property of the property of it the area to the most of Not to the highest the of the or to prome to be some proper e in a service of the top In general type of any many and any and any de so ever en pu har pe u a THE STATE OF THE PROPERTY. but of the and the stop property all the taof the Netherlands.

But while the state was thus strengthening stielf within, in qualition with regard to the reservoir distribution of the ac-Fair who, after the troubled regency of Manufathan of Austria, had been haved with enthusiasm as the microsor of the ent and any men are a he have of Burgundy became in 1504, at the 5 ... of his mother-in-law habella of Stato, the heir of the kingdom of Castile. It became straightway evident that in the near future the sovereign of the Netherlanda was to have other interests than theirs to guard and that it was to be expected that he would subordinate the peace and possibly the prosperity of the Belgian provinces to

armen The premisers to be of Page ( Title man represent the color of 1 to a Ipun I'm the me Chan I now order is a faller a right and as a first to see Thirty as far as piece bly a with it uture held a corpe the supple it so those up spin if his grandf the A now to a of a Margare of An in a day in en music as to m. k. of him a party Burgundian prince. But the inevitable had to come to poss. Of how little weight were the Nechechasis is the sale a promotion of a prince who teigned at the same time in the County of the Spain, on white an Little Lines I respective gently to the conhe were trape stape as we have seen a rester fill a final for and applications er the of the seventeen part per all re-15. 15 Oc in the party of the experience of agent to age. er gredy forces to an a second of the end of his rengt At us a war Vantur A solute, had been lold want by French htto es and the unimprochable credit of the Antwerp market, weatened by louns, was lottering. Nevertheless, the previous rendered the country by Charles, the renown which dazzied the nobility fighting in Trippe - trippe or r . st. that he showed his Burgundian subjects, together with the praclent conduct of the rwo regents, his aun. Margares and later his citter Mary to whom he had entranted the grant of the terms of the staff of his reign the sentiments of opposition which were gathering in the public mind. Il a sentiments broke our suddenly at the go and of Plant as some a spens n r t na a ir h n ha an men of n a p b s a and La non hard on the grown n Sobl and re a er he s to select it is to select before the Netherlands were in open revolt. And this count, for from recalling the

the world-politica into which he would be particular to the talk for the

the size that the size the size of the siz

Uniform and a manage of the re-Setupor Supran St. 1 and a sum of the same to the same from the second Protestants and Color War J Cleaning to the state of the state of the to turn but had become no the er nes he It finally came your . Fe ast are of the autocath on a fix of THE FE OFFICE TO BE AS A SECOND one the republic of the United Provinces. was in the following century to attach to shar ex d e 2 y 1 F 77 11 4 13 7 4 5 5 4 at the second In N E grant 1 Elana . to and property and and bertext a finds an als some true to be a second continue and a pro- continue to the Francisco to to to of he work and the transport by the transport by the transport to the transport by the tran of a hipportaction to may of which Spain went under it lost to own self and the second section of the second h w s op war sam a a the faction, it for every contraction tury given took one how wearn

# CROWN AND ESTATES IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

### HELMUT GEORG KOENIGSBERGER

Professor Konney-bender was born in Berlin in 1918. He was traited in England, foresever of Gorvelle and Coice College, Combindee Since 1960 he has served as Professor of Mindem Missay of Nothingham Mis Little interests in the Instanty of depresentative and portionentary.

The or the interest of depresentative and portionentary his most important \$6 into the Gorvernest of State ander Philip II. Among his most important \$6 into the Gorvernest of State ander Philip II. Among his most important \$6 into the Roman Among A

IN THE WITE AND TO THE STATE OF STREET 1 Str. and Pro to Stee institutions, have had an unbroken history o a set, in and the state of the state of 4 4 I a sing S 1 2 1 1 5 H L & P K car a had to a 1 d f = 1 = 1 = 1 = 1 I share property as gods as he States General of France, or they lost all real power and influence, like the Cortes At a he to the same of Prince On a the a to a net to be device in to be a fine and a second Wat will will be the de + Same

premanently as equal or superior portners of he monarchy in the control of ultimate where it is a local or in Sales Community in the North American and the North American and the North American and the District American and another in the Community of the C

victory was an decider that at least formally, at displaced the monarchy also

These excets are well-known; they have penerally been studied as aspects of the rewill of the Netherlands in the safter jum of the mateenth century Not to wel known as the history of the States General helice a a classic ton a material C a a a restant of a ha par son arrenjo h o a te feat on to temp to the per service and the service of full understanding of the total States General of the a new or not aged a for the note that it refer to a disa n War and war and the A district out of a district of the second Philip II had procedents during the troug hundred years. Twice, in 1477 and in 1488, the States General became the instrument of revolutionary movements, clauming powers and performing actions which were traditionally reserved to the monatrity If

From M. G. Kocha, surger. The East of sond or the Nother and softer to B. in in Stanite the graph of the sond of t

ats successes were short lived, on these occamons, it remeated a potential centre of up on or or the propagator an discent refocus of power in the state: and while its members might, for long years, remain althirst straware of this, it was never entirely fuguitien least of all by the monar-

The States General of the Burgundian in it need the paralogue, rates to be called the Notherlands, had no defeate date of brith-Each of the provinces which the house of Burgundy added successively to its preserskins had in own provincial estates both its own wat ontablished powers and trautions. In 1440. Phillip the Good summoned the estates of Brobant, Flanders and Honorel to 4 joint attembly at Maunes in order to discuss the high price of long ish wool, a question in which an three provinces were virally inscreamed. Following repeated requests by the towns of Braham Flanders, I haland and Zooland, the dake summoney another joint assembly of the mayns of best provinces at Chent, in 1434, to discuss English compedition in the cloth industry. There followed further assemblies. to which varying groups of provinces were summented to deal with problems of trade. the reform of the coinage or other matters which concerned more than one of the provinces under the duke a rule. In the history of these assemblies there is no evidence. that Philip the Good deliberately set out to

Mary work and waster up described to give greater muty to his domin-Bets. The joint assembles were summoned because it suited all parties concerned to discuss specific common mobileges in this way, and these problems were acarly all questions of economic policy. At no time during his reign did Philip ask these joint assembles for financial help - he did, of pourse, ask for autes, or besten, from the 4 rate provincial assembling and not the the man and a second non appear on the agenda. Only thirteen hard an at the eigh of the or he Il do In 1477, the States Coneral acted not unly as a recognised and self-conscious mstrate in a the ament in he a mate commence a mant of the Party Com-· · · · · · ·

For much of the reg of the fifteenth cenr or to V a Car ... many of the characteristics of a largest through the unteenth century it remained primarily an assembly of the delegates of provincial existent reflecting the varying composition and interests of these latter bodies and especially their purts

11 F 3 / - / tuj of the provinces, was generally represented in its provincial estates by its afour members, the cities of Chent, Bruges, Yours and the Franc of Bruges, the im-I To the state of where political control was largely us the bands of the lower nobility. In Holland the voice of the cux large sowner, Dordrech), Amsterdam, Haadem, Leiden, Dellt and Goude, was equally overwhelming. The tribles had only one vote against their six. and the clergy had long since count to atte 1 I

tates were represented but, especially in matters of taxation, the correct of the towns was most important for the ment, and most difficult to obtain for the sowns, unlike the nobinty could not shift P. St. p. e. t. burker in the day the man of May as to promise as

Brabant always the Four ecapitalss Brussels, Louvain, Answerp and Bas-le-Duc.

The representatives who attended the meetings of the provincial meater were, in fact, little more than delegates of the sowns. who sent them to the assemblies, who paid their salaries and expenses and whose instructions they had striedy to follow The 

per ris z en line por risk with the second The Mark San and a second

THE STATE OF STATE OF no near te or to be no no he have a of the States General and the history of the

provincial estates. Many of the principal nas-Tournards and Hamaur with Valen-Which has taled be duken by the deal t. a t he entires it separate in it hard traffical time as a Nesen h s carty to que to the season 2 1 5 04 from programme or a la state a later Gus a a T coba n to the same of the to The state the sale gir D T = 1 10 101 10 1 10 WHE CH IS NOT 0 444 0 44 " , 1 ST 1 75.1 1 7 14 1 5 the court of the same of the co w a way weeks and months by the obligation to refer that to the provincial estates and he-4 to 10 to 1 1 Mar of State of Late of I want to provide a programme a cale a comp 256 P 3 P because of the state of the a major come for a second

therefore had the appearance of a congress of delegates from quasi-autonomous powers, rather than that of an institution representa la proprie EP 4 7 76 76 7 9 9 9 er breach and should attend, and membership varied a great deal. Gradually, however, convermore for membership bardened. When, in 1534. Charles the Fifth's government propreed > rest are and a time, army for the provinces, the States Catheral objected that these proposals were unacceptable while some of the provences we was hime to be part of the Born ten tendra die zesem a The part a mach a were now regularly summoned were Holland, Zealand, Flanders, Beabant, Malmes, Namur Lille Donas Oschies, Artois, Touc-

The meetings of the States General

The two problems, that of the membership a la har con an area su o repowers of the delegates, were both aspects of a more fundamental problem, the divergence of interests between ruler and nibject. It was the sam of enecessive Burgundun and Habiburg rulers of the Nett ands to weld their dominions ingether nio a greater positical unity and to provide them with more efficient and powerful government. Against these centralising white per lates with copy and provider then by the day to the large of the in Fice on acids it made THE HOLD IN A SHEAT OF A TO A ST THE LOT IN THE ST THE ject to pay, on the other hand, were the key to this relationship. At the same time, neither aide pursued its policy consistently, all were fundamentally interested in carrying on the government of the country is war to distribute the one right of the coutural princes to a wire A 4 1 101 101 101 tional loyalties had become , rayed by years of bitter civil and teligious was in ie so quality a sent the con say to all reason and experience to and the second of the second but write truth in the empeour when they relicited against his governor-general in 153"-40. On the other side, the culete never made a frontal attack on the Aberties of the country. It was a marker of prode or, a least, an effective propaganda in man in Nether rades aved in grove to an than the subjects of the King of France, and barron a que pases on them. Despite Charles the Filth's necessional reluctance to automore the States. General, no serious attempt was made to demonie with a satogether until the reign of E DE LA CONTRACTA DE SER DESENTACIONES than the duke of Aiva tried to have he proposed taxes approved by the assembly Nevertheless, the relationship between

where are a large of the state of the spiritual or of power. The clause of both sides call finally to be resolved by the victory of one in the money of the bound of a happened attent or loter everywhere in Europe – there was bound to be a shifting balance of power. This became apparent at the very beginning of the cureer of the States General in the dispute over its claim to assemble independently of a ducal arrange.

This dispute, however was bound to recur If the estates routh establish the right of astembly without ducal sammons, then their independent authority was along to puerful with the government over this point unless they had other reasons for quarrel as well.

Aluch sent clear-out was the attitude of both States Ceneral and government towe terby postaling a part to batter and the country between the various delegations. The provinces and estates represented by these delegations were deeply jealous of their autoromy and an general, treasted on reference back, rather than on operation with other delegations. In practice, however common discussion between the representatives of at least two or three proventer was unavaidable if agreement was n he reached at all especially on the govgrament's demands for order. The deputies of the smaller provinces were often in straighted to show the lead of Planders and Brahont and to discuss a common policy with the deputies of the provinces. The matude of the government was also agobryatest Common discussions meant more tapld det sions on the government's proand this was convenient Maycover if an important delegation had been perstuden to give a favourable vote that would sot a good example to the others. On the other head, the resonance of Flanders or Brobant to a grant might equally well pernucle others to result the. This was one of Mary of Hungary's constant sportes.

But at the beginning of Philip the Secmid's reign when the political system of the Netherlands was beginning to break down, government policy began to oscillate vio-

lently between the two apprenches to the problem of common discussions. The strain of the seemingly upending French wars, to much as a 17 and affice prices, the many be a on the course who the h harris claim to extransion in process of the order - all this of a name of the sale of more unwilling than ever to grant the ling's hand the second state of jests on it can a to me with a cet April 198 for a car I The transfer of as his game at a deline b. Dig and it is a search of and orac to the at the u extension and a second second a a 2 b sh so o 2 2 % teal a Van Samp pear the State Command sec. Interest the commence of at as he had a separate and on the course of the second The state of the s manue but a supled it is any has a series or a preferror to the T a feet G as a sa Central could no The second

as two that the interests of or him in News and made more most elegally this period it was generally accepted that the ... a had a right to expect financial help for the deforce of the country. When, however, wars continued for years on end, when defence, turning agression, demanded ever great at its, the loral supplects not only the demands for money but begot a stine the conduct of the governos rigo policy when Charles the Dord a which had demanded such has a major be no set of a Al educes again at him and No serve to see It and the South Career matter the he came a the ar place was builder to its a comme not consumption and he brade terms bused it carry in the tasks of government

its control over foreign policy booke down within a few morths. The conflict with the government however continued.

Na are Sir is Sir Control make air or to non the the it is a one it not be arread. a compared to the transfer lems persisted through the sixteenth century During the reign of Charles V there. was unly one open revolt, that of Chent, 1537 to 1540, and that was more as the naturn of a tax-paying strike than of revolutions such as shore of ACT or 1488 But to the contract of the contrac 2 424 16 nereas ngiv expensive and dangerous wars with France, producted an intermittent, but gradually swelling, numble of disastisfaction with the emperors foreign policy Twice in 1512 and in 1522. Margaret of Austria feared the imminent outbreak of sebellion. Complaints continued that the Notherlands were made to conquer Italy for the emperor and Denmark for the Count Palatine The joint sesson of the A C . P . NAME

At a stocker on these trans-

that time a chronic shurtage of efficient and reasonably bonest civil servants, successive governments were not in principle opposed to the encours and unpopular task of redictions

the enerous and unpopular task of redict in the Mark control below they would also the suggested that the States and should appears its nown comments eners to supersom the government's collection and the offer was rejected at that time for the Coulders. But in the \$100's and \$150's, the

estates of Flanders, Brobane and Hotland

al war or or a real feet

trol In 1958, the States General took the best step towards menting a unifora finanall institution under its own control for the whole of the Netherlands by appointing the Antwerp banker Antoin van 5 als a produce of as a all the provinces.

While the monarchy was not entirely averse to such developments it was distinctly boulde to the growing habit of the can distinctly boulde to the growing habit of the can distinct the growing habit of the can distinct the growing provincial governors and governors general tried to coverse this procedure: the estates knew that without such incuttence their power was broken and they remained adament. We of Hungary even said that the estates preferred by emperor to be poor so that they their privileges, they wanted to be masters and not serventto.

Even when the patrician deputies them selves were willing to most the government of the personal them in Flanders, the perty bourgeoiste of gilds and tra causes were represented in the pown councils and had so approve all

whole States General are and the glob of the reign of Phaip II Clindes V pursued a democratic elements from the government of the Netherland towns. ""

the rower clauses were thus extended there was a fine to the started as revolts against a fine to love their heads. These purposes

hable to lose their heads, these pupiess movements tenden to sociogiben the estates

segment by the control of the Wells

generally responsible for the more extreme pur action and comes. This happened in 1477 when popular movements broke out all over the Netherlands. It happened again in Flanders during the rebellions against Maximilian, in 1467 and 1488.

Nevertheless, the patrician oligarchies usually remained in him runtrol of the cowns and in consequence, also of the Smen General. Their interests were local and sectional, the privileges they detended against encroschments by the crown were equally incal and sectional - often dismetrically opposed to the interests of other towns and provinces. Such was the case, M DESCRIPTION OF RESERVE port grain freely while there was famine in he rea of the Netherlands. In the absence of a general cause for opposition, it was therefore most unlikely that the governmont would ever be faced by a general revolt of the States General, and, in fact, to such movement occurred during the whole long ratge of Charles V. The States Concral commined a conservative force, the able of the king man and a mother of whichen distributed by the majority of provtees, such as the proposed union and standing army of 1944-35, but unable and anwilling to the lenge the crown's control. of government. Yet the political struction. tentamer, imprable and tended to deterorate, especially after about 1530. The Branch tinn of 1532, the resolt of Gheen of 1937 40: the confederation of the abbota of the great Brabantine momentic bounes, formed to roust the financial denumbs of he compare he as a property prompt between the estates of Ffetland and the governor, the count of I-lonchstraten all these were agas that Charles the Pifts - mperson warry eric to the top the same Netherlands and the goodwill of his sub-

During the first wears of Philip the Secoud's reign, the States General became the mouthpiece for grievances which had now become general assessive taunting and the

presence of Systemsh troops in the Low Comme. This is the processing general. hy fills gare it Parma the kill be came consider, has if summered again, the Secret La term makes become that more of the movement to mean state the procured again the congressed he actwitten of the Netherlands inquisitors. Philip was undoubtedly currect in his estaen a light on the real time. States Ceneral which mitiated or or and the sevolt. The economic changes of the susteenth century had upurt the social equilibrium of important areas of the Netherlands and had thus created a revolutionary sinustion among the artisant and wageearners of the industrial belt of Walloom-Flanders Calvinus preachers found a fertile held for their propagands, and they were 4 C M IC F CAN on the new comments Antwerp and in decaying old textile towns ake Chent and Leiden. The country nobility new their incomes dwandle with risno in ou and their local influence cup-14 " by the cittenum of the activities of the central government: many hundreds joined Losts of Navasa's and Brederotte's Compromise Calvinium working on social all the part of the part organisations which transcended provinctal boundaries. These forces says in the States General a convenient weapon and to the state of the very moment when the king's policy had antagonised some of the most powerful members of the high nobility. This the stage was not for the never of penalts which began in 1566. The mibrequeut collapse of the crowned that a way to Concral in the centre of the source of as he mis was to the think the But internal divergencies of asternat and aim, and insufficient control ingrethose external forces which had created the revolutionary movements, prevented the States General from keeping the Netherlands

# FRANCIS I, HENRY II, AND THE ESTATES

## J. RUSSELL MAJOR

Perfect of May in war from mil 99. After extending this welfer graduate educing for the six image for the recent of the involvement of among the six of th

## THE MONADORY OF FRANCIS I

Francis I and Henry II were to powerful as any other kings of France, at was at the beginning of the unteenth century that the about the interest Project core of the leading authorities.

The assemblies of the three estates of the langion virtually coused, the towns were not convoked after 1517, the notables were automosed has often to give advice, the citates were not asked to ratify treaties after 1544, and there was a growth of absoluted political theory. Furthermon, the Concordet of 1516 gave the crown effective control over appuniments to important church positions, the secone of the halk of the Bourbon anheritance in central France removed the greatest of the French nobles from the accor, and the reorganization of the alternation of frame to other strengthened the crown Yet with all these changes, the popular, consultative nature of the transfer comment process to other the feet by 4 to perput and was only Our in without the refres

Francis I had "neither the strength of

mind not the steadfast will to apply literally to a systematic transformation of success and he sutions." He was preoccupied with a ga affairs and war The low changes he instituted arese rangely from the need for money for loveren enterprises. He sixcerely believed the Bourbon inheritance to be his, he was so far from trying to destroy Charles of Bourbon, the greatest of the varule, that he samed him Constable of France and Governor of Langueure and Alden soon after he came to the throne Indeed, Francis I loved his notality as in official in the kinds of the first or the second bottom, pensions, and court positions. It was the pobility who profited most from the Concordat, for they received the finest excleurstical benefices. It was in part to have these near han that he built hage chateaux. They were his companions in some and in the chase. The young king was knighted by the bravest of their number and inked no better than to be called "the first sentlemun of France."

Along could be more erroneous than to an one-do sta mores of a call a variously ambassadors than Francis I cooks too his subjects as much as he pleased. It is true

Represent with permantion of the capyinght owners, the Regens of the University of Wisconsin, from I Raisell Major. Representative Institutions in Remainment France, 1421-15 is 1960, the University of Wisconsin Proces.

that were and extravegence made on increase in the taille necessary. The revenue from this tax stored at 2,400,000 lives in an increase of the stored at 2,400,000 lives in

000 by 1545, a figure no higher than that teached under Louis XI in 1481. During the intervening sixty years, prices had nearly doubled, and the capacity of the French people to pay had grown consulera financial at his and are recessors, was dependent the marks of the same of the but ponethelya definite point beyond which he could not go without providing result. When he reached that point, he had to turn to expedients, and this he did early in his reign. Substantial parts of the domain were sold, as were the crown gewels, and even some of the treasurer of the thun ties; offices were counted and made venul, wages of officials were travel, loans were dettianded, and a system of public credit was Insulated Such measures, though sometimes arbitrary, were not those of an absolute monarch who could the at will Only the favored nobility oscaped almost intact from the financial manipulations of the king, and they were the princips beneficiaries of his largers.

# THE DECINE OF THE CONSTRAINES.

The first lew years of the reign of Francis I new the most important adments. reading changes that were made between his succession to the throne as 1515 and the death of his son in 1859. During this period there was a large amount of consultation. On September 10, 1516, Francis ordered the towns to send deputies to Paris on Octaber 15 to give advice on what should be done about the perennial currency problem. The deputies met severas times with Chanceiler Dupen in the hitel de ville, but occording to Jean Barrillon, the secretary of 1 0 10 1 0 0 10 to notics returned to their homes har the po and as a Mar of the tiet really contributed anything or not, gannot be said, but an November 27 an orden-

many a way assert upon the advice of he is the vice of an end of the pond toward of an end of the arm of the a

Francis instructed the towas in send deputies to Paris on March 15, 1517, to go where my to be a my to the enucled. Seventeen towns and the provinthe estate of Product and the tespeak a cola subsume It's are he go crome tack depo emme chira the willings, a principlinan one suspects that the factor on he have me bly The letters of convocation stipulated that one or two accommo experts be chosen, and efforts, for the most past unsuccessful, were made to get the towns to comply with this regulation. When Troyes elected an advocate, the procurent of the town, and a visoreut, the chancellor asked the municiy to send material two merchants, whom to named, because they knew more about the matters to be discussed than anyone esse. A samulas fate may have befullen Dipos, for the municipal council reduced. the anget some of he day a law as a core of the second of th converthen. Nevertheless in state of the he has a fact by he had been limited themselves to one or two deputies and most of those chosen were municipal officials, not merchants. Indeed, many depomake and a new transfer and clergymen were in the delegations from Bosten, Town, and Bayanse

The fart meeting of the member was been at 1 to 2 most free of growth and a state that the long had not concluded wish the papers and it had been decided to captain the new on the deputies and the members of the soverings court at the same time. The crown hoped to cally the support of the transition of the transition of the transition of the transition of the same exclusions.

Chancellor Duprat initiated this policy.

Before Francis I, several princes, the Parle ment, and the depunes, he began by pointing to the domestic problems and foreign Committee the A in the assertion to the o on he on the trace the right in the to the thing for the wear at ML are le s'es i his the couline à a a hour or and the term to be the Black is Name to the decision of the conover apprentments to benefices in the French church To halt these evils, the Ling had concluded the Connectal which, it is true, made some changes in the motter A no n at a the eventual features of the Prag-S a serie peace with the paper

The restoration of peace, the chancellor continued, had freed the lung to turn his attention to domestic affairs. The principal was of the various courts of the tealm been assembled to evaluate old order nances and recommend new over, expenses had been reduced, and an assembly of the the preparation of a decree establishing the ring was designed to accure the enrichment readment should be accomplished were

was needed and made imports unnecessary. He admitted that there were several gains through which money was brought into a kingdom, but added that there were neveral to the most part, unwarranted and ought to

pagely menantitue. He spoke of the fer-

tility of france which produced all that

but not returned in neighboring states. To

sared that certain proposals be plan in fore the anomaly

These proposite were not submitted in the deputies of the nawns on that day, but rather were read to there on March 25 to a meeting held its the bittel de rille. They consisted of nine acticles designed to prohibit the importation of foreign goods, ensure the use of French slaps in foreign

craits set the about I French cur concert of a section of the set of manual goods, as a section.

At ear he are just jul been as new Accordiscor and according to the control of the con accompanie The artiful transfer of a or Amaria Alberta per or ment decided as break up the assembly The deputies were sent home with course or no not referent as of n the larger and wher part of the inhabitants of helt towns. The conclusions were to be transmitted to the king to be a dired as the preparation of an ordennance for the enrichment of the language. Steps were also taken to constitution are the studies to the another, unrepresented towns in the The first of the property of t

record the capital, they were placent or appeared in a big scatter tack and spoken of

r eneggerated a to to in the diagnosi at work of the amembly, but no crosses to a control of the amembly as a control of the amember of the amember

Barriage serves on doubt as to the restons for his unhappeness over the notices of his unhappeness over the notices of his me and the presented a thereantiment program designed to stop the flow of maney out of france by hairing the importation of goods, and the majorithm of the profit is the personal made. Another the standard of the personal made Another the standard of the stan

long. On this last peats we suspect, there was justice in Barrillon's position. When asked to make recommendations on what

should be done then to be kingdom the depoins from To es the only suggest that he fill not if he cirana and if Chair give and Brie is their town be minfirmed and has beginning permeasing " on e abother at The patient of the the nature scenes is been a sense as the reason of P. one I to but he re the own a series to the low low well over the make with above as them. It was for officials like hamself who we turns as were also a mid to move the splunly the general good in their hearts, to proper remaines or the former of the kingdom. He gave no indication that Before a menon on a Baner For a new time the way to their glat they we as a copy of action what he art, use was shared by many

There were no further assemblies of the time welcome the resp. of work a big t would be virtually impossible to prepare a list of all the nonrepresentative assembles f horizon thanks and other than the transfer their or result on the advice of a resource on the copy the special terms of the second second references to "other notable persons" were not infrequent. In addition, specialists were consulted now and then. For example, tome captains book part in the preparation of the same to be the same or 1546, and branchi officials belied prepare an erdenmence forbidding the capact of gold in December 1529 Records have usu a ty survived only for amembles held in conjunction with the Purlement of Pauls, where the clerk of the court carefully noted who attended. Often these awemblies took the form of a lit de nistice. Present would be the king, prelates, great nobles, builtifs, members of the Parlement and others to widely varying numbers. In his Recueil de eauge des grands de Françe, the clerk Jean Du Tillet, listed more than twelve meetings during the reigns of Francis I and Elenty II as examples, but on the whole there was a marked decline in the use of I as consultative assembles after the first few decades of the period

#### TITLE BATA TO AND DUE'S ES

These new man we in wearings comment to facilities and The begin attack on the in the box of a made of the company of the The area of the area of the in the first and of the ement A fan X bis of he would visit be all y to ma the late to mer The a large half and man gradus of the annual society about the mile a Santon M. St. along a car in and of which the problem de contra 1 4 h 1 00 in the manner of the trigger 1 . The Print Paris accompanied by several great publics, important ecclesiastics, canons of Notre Dame, and representatives of the University of Para to ask that the Concordet be registered by Patlement and radical by the American comm be so Panise of A Contract base to go Was made graphic to the cold to tenent of the fact the the ten face on a en nebet near net sp a or to the pro-. Sand to san to be the distance of the same se proprie File & All A Ma site to the of the the co. The collective fire ment was

It M. I. I the matter was placed in fore a joint meeting of the deputies of he that has been as the honor on the hope of rallying public opinion to the Pile h s 1 mm (m 11 79 as no not de la man r with me to the court refused For nearly a year the quartel continued, until at length, the Parterms a see s a ser he there he la to radice sty a fire by creating a new court at Otleans, Jume

distely after a franks work steps do whatever was necessary for the good of S day's what is the a to reast for a short time, but eventually it too was silenced, and the Concordin of 1916. became one of the principal decrees which regulated the French church. The consultative traditions of the monarchy had been violated, not to much by the enforced registransin of the Parlement - for here the king was charly within his continuous rights - but by the failure to get the ronsens of all the French clergy as had been agreed with the pope. Francis' action was and ubtedly crused by the benef, hat the taillican Church could not be persuaded to accept the proposed changes. The affair to of interest because it shows that in the taubilities of peaties, the Parlement and the other anatutions consulted were no mero rubbes stamps, even though they were eventually persuaded to accode to the small

During this period there was some tilk of convoking the Estates General. The matter came up in the Parlement . . but is was decided not to press for a meeting

Linking of Savoy was definitely approved to the idea because the three encies had in times past claimed the right in name the council during a regency It seemed to her that those who wought a meeting of the Estates General could only desire her removal, and on October 8 she reproached e member of the Parlement saving that several councilors of that court wanted to see the estates of the langdom assembled diminuh her authority. This charge the

Parlement steadfastly denied

The unformable attitude of Louise of Savoy towards convoking the Estates General should not be interpreted as a general policy of the monarchy it only means that she did not feel the moment was opportune A decade earlier when Francis had named her regent during his first Italian compargn, he had named two orders defining her may ers. In the first dated July 15, 1515, he had actuded a vague statement that the could

I a good the propose he to her had tallic thay its the second order giving her authority to make ordonnances and "to aswhile learn of mora and a ka gelora - Viscolo - med the accordance to the meaning the proper and or the end of du is are any trade aim "and likewise the mayors, schering, councitors, bourgeons, men, and inhabitants of the towns of our languism, and our other D & 27 2 0 37 H 276 at 30 to at the att put n 4550 Ph. is u [9] She 41 and a queen mother was grown authority to convoke The people of the estates of our kongdom, . . . " Would Francis have authorized his mother to hold meet up of the extotes if he had feared these assemblies? Would not the easiest way to protect her from such demands have been specifically to draw her dus right? Yes as 1515 in order that there he no uncertainty in his first declaration of her powers, he had usued a mound matement specifically giving her the authority to consult the estates. No less a person than Chapeolfor Duprat advocated assembling the three estates when news of the disaster at Pavia reached the court. Later Francis was made at desperate by the demands of the emperor that he issued a letter from captivity order-

The rangotiations for Francis' release offer another interesting example of the role of the people in foreign alfaits in March. 1525. Charles V demanded the return of Burgundian territories taken by France in 1452, the surrender of French claims in Italy, and other concessions. He assessed that these terms be rathed and approved by the French estates, the Partenorus of Paris, four provincial Parlements, the various Chambres der compass, and die meur-

ing that his endese son be crowned king and

E PERSON EN P. THE

the people of these changes, he further de-

recited that the three counter he assem-

for if the rough if Transfer reption to April. to take to take the programmer of Eugards a major man and the order a compared a series and statement a man or or the entates still Parisment in Education of and a state delication and tables the serms the sector of the There is the term of the later to be e to produce the common tree to a manufacture to the form of the section of to see a distribution of the exthere is the same of the property as the same of at per confine at the terms of places in the he prografing and decided to be to be Harpit to continue and of an inferior IP A SECTION A SECTION ASSESSMENT Sur a su blies secondar to maide counter proposals that included winning the approval of the Partement of Paris and he orintes of Propers.

By Docember, 525. Francis was despendent of the emperor and expressed, his widingness to see he treaty milital by the cours of France The final terms of the Treaty of Marked of January, 1526, powished for freeing the long

These housings were to be retained as soon to Burgundy had been delivered to Spain, the Estates General had promised the personned described as a linear state of Parketten and the Change of Parketten and the Change of Parketten and engistered it.

The nest great treaty of the Habsburg-Valuis Wars was signed at Crepy in September 1544. As a Cambral the terms called for ratification and approval by the ir vincual castes and for registration by all to Partenesis and the Chandre des compter as Paris. In spite of similarity in the phrascology concerning the method of rati-

so a terminate, which decided in a second processing the second processing the second process of the second pr

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to the a means in the sing war between the cu years a way a Comme Europhysics of the the two profit in the contract that Phopa s d b the course of the same The temporary and the same recarding to the top united the transfer of the Mine roth. This is possible, but me suspects the course were also dropped because we walter had come to believe that the same of the sa the second little area and a second the read a total a free rate of swearing to help the Hababia against The second of a second of a ungle instance of their dung any A 9 19 4 9 5 9 18" variable dal. Philip II knew what his father had never learned, that a people can be as warlike and as distanced as a long. It is true that registration by the Parlements and the China and the to the fact of a large CI is but to the opthe server a second second there! us a more

# THE CHANGE OF THE HEAT

The hand the failure to use the exacts to rately treaties was paralleled by a growth of absolutesm in political throught. The theorist pur excellence of the earlier stages of the Bennissance blossatchs had been Claude de Sevnel. His La Grand Moureckie de Faire was a la constant of the constant of the

he depicted he rules as being lim ed by torre , editor a new manifestation Le lle v. b q 1 g outred the king to conform to the rules of . Cathota Church, but also bound him. to adhere to the general principles of tustion. La mistire involved more specific litto tations on the authority of the crown and empowered the courts to give redress when the king encreached on the rights of his subjects. La police included the fundamencon and the service on the service the ment of the head of the head de reservir a la large de ser de lateré e mer er ka k p The a to the second of the second of to the same of the same of the same of No. 12 acts or 1 time the control of the second but for tall 2 19 1 2, 16 19, 2 195 so If we are not a promised for a loan out Mark A on ty is and a sit go in it better taxing te a per languere ne arab. to e in a confidence and the Namedie Cary allers he at the entirement when with a good war are the open are term as an every or an at at or a mile and his men are great discreted the your and reaches in the overrigo the planting was been as to be the trans or and to real to the departer of the gar of 1835 are with the services with a be to early and a material summand extrem the martin can as too free and or te as them mater 4 graf goe or all that to the World by gritten the que a swar space to proceed last a la deposit of the contract of the and a mount form and the sky

I were disting he will be educated the higher education the methods of the William II was a mark man at the set of the Route and Conserve and man at a set of the start of a permit of the serve of the permit of the serve of the checks of religion. In meaning, and fundamental law were mannamed

in a sightly above from but here was a mask of index you as in a rig more authority to overnde customary law, and much less was said about the various types of consultative essentibles that Seywel had treated in some details shough, of course, the advisability of taking council was an instated upon.

## THE SHOUTHAL OF THE BENAMESAME

The Renamence Manarchy was threaterrea out on it is again to danger. The new or a min is not all theory had lutle nameduse influence on But I have no he is the One mangly suspects that the jurist was read only by his fellow jurists. Norther nobles not burghers were affected as their behavior in the Wars of Religion was to prive. Nor was the decline in the use of the various types of pateinal consultative prsembles paralleled by a fundamental change in all the other popular aspects of the government. The two reigns actually saw the development of diocesan assemblies of the clergy and the occasions, one of provincta and even national elected assembues. The cause of he innovation was the need for the clergy's consent to taxation. At first Francis asken he therew for financial assistance about every third year, but between 1541 and 1558 royal demants a were annual. The amounts involved were subscarst in line of II in the state of the 4 dec mes, re about 1,600,000 dyres, except in 1950 when he contented lattice, with half that amount Coment was most often given by dincene, a procedure that lost this type of local amembly to flower at the very time the large consultative meetings became len frequent. Not until 1561 did the first estate get at assemblies organized on a national basis, but the idea had slowly de-THE MAN THE MENT OF THE P.

There was to make the semblies for the probability during the period, because the large were either unwilling or mable to get them to pay taxes. The only taxe they were assested, and therefore to

What is a few order A A POST TO THE POST OF THE PO late on the harmonia the towns. More aignificant was the constant flow of departes from the rowns to cours Planely a year went by but that a municipal name is as and someone to the king concerning the privaleges of the town, to request that some cestruction be removed, or to salt that a text ne reduced.

Amiron can be used as an entire de On-Mn 4 6, 1559, the sensons heard the report of the town clerk who had been to the king at l'onminebiesu on vanous affags. On May 8 another official was paid for a visit to the long to prevent the manports. tion of wheat On June 3 on Julian tospecied a gun emplacement between a tower and one of the gates of the town on onler of the crown. As antic pated royal Visi Wil although the many than the first to help the roys, harbingers when they THEFT THE REAL PROPERTY AND ASSESSED. once there necessary to pay deputies who had been to Pans on the business of the musicipality. On September 18, it was the which mentioned representatives from the town to him about some matter. On Ortober 23 an felievist and a companion who the Topen Call Care to a contract of to privileges they had won was he notif a lawy a sales tax in the lown for ten years. without assembling the people, a real triumph for the municipal ongarchy On Decomber 12 a deputy was dispatched to Paris to see about a case before the Parlement

It made no difference whether Amters sent deputies to assemblies with the other towns of Prance or the three estates of the langdom. The representatives of Amiens were as tikely to be heard by the king if

which concerned the town.

sembled, was to free the royal hostages how they were as patched when he concerns by the emberor Fig. tok it was use the green Med & it was a winter dance on the section of the section of the assemblies of the nobility were held be how . . . I are hat no twee 5, and 5%, with distance at the grounders of the comments fowns that it means that he is seen as the fact in the arms of the fact in the second of the second of the fact in the second of the fact in the second of the secon and the second of the second may a contract by 9 (p 5 - 1 19 - 9 d 1 to the six to a The served at hitting the part of the 

5 P P 24 9 25 11 62 1 9 3 1 3 2 2 2 7 2 2 1 2 2 2 2 3 3 3 4 The same of the sa (3 4

14 . . that the three estates of Doutage, Nor-

I oversee, and some smaller outlying provsome met regularly densing there years, that they kept their right to consent to intuition. often reducing the amount requested, and

1 4 Maria a ca affe the " after stage of a meta-THE TE IS A COLOR TO A

Proposed was up historian of the generation C 4 C 4-

One only on your Property for the gar the manusche had changed for Property m. In the first is to the first the manager summand to extends to vote in id man a and the de-. . . a to the

sale of all a line of many if

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In the the converted a port of the price it [1]. The product estates he to and take the े व पर का कर है जा पहला र बच्चा के असा व A to be on age to the highest and and the second of the Research and when it has more it. We are adjust a top to the Then at the time is possible appropriate that the a to some through other a reveal the state of the control of the appendix condition the at the a feet and the call was for any oughts by od a transfer to be a dealer and assembly an to a selfa the age maneral the state of the best of the state last A to a threater men if in I stance executed prior to the exerci-

## THE GERMANIES PRINCES AND PARLIAMENTS

F. L. CARSTEN

F. L. Corver has devoted his professional energies to the study of the - 19 April 10 at 1

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Co to be seen a resump O and the pp 423 4 1 34 441

everywhere attend the diets, for example, pt to the term of the Board Bridge In many other principalities they disappeared as an Latate with the introduction of the Reformation. Some Protestant principalities, however such as the ducky of Wart ten a la retained a clerical Estate. In others, such as the landgravate of Hence be the electorate of Scionar a substitute was found in granting representation to prous foundations, hospitals, schools, and enversides, so that the pattern of three Fusies was preserved in other principals. ties only two Enairs were left, and the ealso preciominated elsewhere the nobility and the towns. The nobility sometimes were divided into the higher and the lower nobility the former comprising counts and lords, the laster the much more numerous k og ne swaces of noble estates, un to the were commoners. In most principosition all nobtemen who fulfilled corman qualifications with regard to birth and respectly had the right to attend the diet not to the ducky of Prunts, and sater also. in the andgravists of Hesse-Cassel, the noblemen first met in primary auemblier to elect their deputies to the diet. In many parts of southern Cermany, moreover n Boden, Wantemberg, the Paleanate Bamberg, Trier, and in certain sensiter princapa stee of Swobas and Franconin - the nobility is the early uniform. I come a o edeel in gaining the status of Free Imperia Kraghts and thus deappeared from the dieta which hencebeth were attended may by the dergy and the known.

Usually all the towns, including small market-towns, were summoned to the diet But on the lower Rhine this right come to be vested at a few "principal towns" only and in the duchy of Propose the one inportant town, Khaigsberg, remained separate from the until away, each ly as dal-Rosrock and Wesmar in the duchy of Mecklenburg As the more important towns thee to the rank of Free Imperial Cities, the small territoria mirras citala not riva the influence of the nobility which throughout remained the leading Little. The excep-

tions were those principalities where the nobiemen became Free Image & but in the duchy of Cleves not the towns became more important than the nobiley. Most of the territorial towns, however, were declining, either alread to a N. H. 11 12 12 12 12 18 45 3 result of the Thirty Years War Thus the nes a contract of to have a as well as positivade throughout the timone and in the whole of central and easiern t - to - re- con m . . . . . . . to the second second a a f or 0 16 0 6 3 4 the errors and the Estates of the Comman. towns of Germany only one to the bear of the teenth century, and that was Leaning, but the second

norman to make the money to a me

F. L. CARN EN

The peasants were only represented as the illet as an exception, above all in faintier arests close to Switzerland and the Netherlands: In Tweet and Voragherg both Habsburg poursions, in the neaths abbey of Kempten and the archbalogue of Sal burg, in the margravate of Bacen in the country of Fresa and of More on the North Sea. In several of these protograft the nobility dal not attend the diets. In others, such as Wurstenberg and the Paletinate, the circumstance that the presents were theoretically represented was indicased by the fact that the urban deputies st stimultaneously for the owens and the Auter, the manny districts around the towns. In Cleves and Mark, as well as m the ducky of Prussia, representatives of the peasants participated in the local assemblies which preceded or followed the diets There the deputies were elected, or rendered their accounts, the business of the diets was discussed and concluded, the

taxes were repartitioned, and matters of local government considered.

Thus the number as well as the compominor of the Estates vacced greatly from terribus to territory. If the original pattern was the same as in France and other conunental countries and contained three Estaxes, and accordingly three separate houses, this pettern was modeled to such an extent in practice that it is almost improvible to my what was the rule and what the exception. In most of the lay principalities the nobanty, and nest to them the towns, fremed the backlone of the Estates, and this curresponded to the reality of the encien regime. But it also proved a burrier to a progressive committational development when the wend readily begin to change and the submit began to lose its impartance. The composition of the Wuriternberg Estates was exceptional, not because the nobility no longer was so Easte of the ducby - that was the same chewhere in confinement Cerminy - but because of the presence of Protestant prelates who sat together with the urbin deputies, which gave to the Espres a unscameral character 1. 1 1 1 1 1 1 gound of the two katales gave to them a

polestence and a unity which were absent chewbere. The fraction which generally prevailed between the nobility and the towns was an element of westeress, which could easily be used to play off one Estate against the other and might enable an ambehote prince to curtail the power of the Estates altogether

Broadly speaking, Estates developed everywhere in Cermany in the fourteenth and tifuenth centuries for re-

One was financial the princes revenues from lands, jurisdictions, tolls, mines, and other regular shrank owing to water, occnomic difficulties, and the declining value of money to that many lands and rights had to be percentled as sold. This, however, merely aggravated the problem, for it do moushed the princes own revenues further and further and they were correspondingly less and less able "to live of their own."

Hence they had to seek the aid of their subseems and to reach an agreement with the mobility or the towns about the terms or which they would be writing to render such aid. A tamests example of such an agreement concluded at a very early time way the treaty of 1283 between the margidyes of Reandenburg and their vassals about the tax of the Beile or precurin, according to which the margraves sold the tax so their subjects against a fixed annual due from land and property, and promised that they would not ask them for another tax in funurs, unless in two definite and specified exceptional cases. Yet this was only a temporary tolution, for in the course of time the new fixed due was also said or paid off and the princes were mine than ever unable to meet their growing expenses and to pay their debts. In their testi interest a more permanent arracge ment was necessary. They could have conthreed to accounte with marvidush, with the state of the s

they hand it much more convenient to negotiate with "the country" as a whole and his was the origin of the Estates as an awaration, as a corporation representing the whole country Soon they granted taxes to their prince, but only against certain conappropriate to the propriate of the prop

the object of elaborate bargaring Soon the diet became the only place where such taxes could legally be granted, or at most this was the case its the opinion of the la-

The other factor which created the Estales to 4n institution was the end succession of internal conflicts, featricides wars, and partitions of territory between brothers and comme of the ruling famil as which fisted the liftmenth century in purticular In such conflicts and civil wats other side had to attempt to win the suppust of the "country" without which they were helpless. Frequency the Estates were called upon to act as subiters, to carry through or to guarantee a tienty a settlement, or a partition, or to provide the regency council which was to rule on be-

half of un infant prince. The bistory of all the German principalsnes is full of examples of this kind. Thus the Estates anymed put acal influence and began to wieta. power In Brandenburg their sepresentatives were called upon in the biteenth neatury to sit as judges in cases between the margraves and refractive tower which declined to pay taxes or in open their gates. to the prince. In certain instances the Ea-Inter used their newly-won privers to impower kind of the age on a worlder of they depoted him if he broke previous undertakings and treation Naturally the Estates were strongly opposed to partitions of the retritory and to the commutation of internal far fe, which they sought to preveni by the conclusion of "unions" among themselves, implicitly or explicitly directed at their warring princes. . . The Estates were equally opposed to sales of parts of the terestory or of princely domains. They the moneth souls are made as d the remerphistics, and apposed the idea in the control of the control of the as if they are the ways a sign to appoint cools self fands at their pleasa-

There is little doubt that a new art the priores found the solvice of the Estates on femilian and demestic bases useful and the sid of "the country" tridispensable on account of their increasing debts, while the I loter were naturally reluctant to enter any new communents and burden themserves with new obligations. They did not want to become a part of the new state, but to maintain their autonomy and their provit . The princes showed the same attainwards the Empire, and the nobility of the south-west towards the principalities. from which they succeeded in amanerpusing themselves, becoming Free Impens. K ights. It was to the advantage of the prince to have a working institution which would come to his sid in three of need, rather than to have to negotiate with updividua graps The and the reap, or hand as a happy again in a side or the he he the growing and they a brief a akeous purpose thank to

did the English Parliament. One must be very caceful not to transfer the later clish a interests, the conflicts of the seventeenth. and aughteenth centuries, into a period. where no such conflicts existed. As the king in Parliament' was more powerful than the long alone, to the rules with Es-date of his property of he man to develop the machinery of government and with the muney which he su urgently needed.

The second second 3L \_\_\_\_\_ 1 , 1 . 50 be needed money from the point of view of the Estates the duet provided an appur-It to the state of using the country's finances, and as his E 19 5

prince a debte, partially or ostally intention of gradually povent them off, a c

ution, but a strong prince would at times levy taxes by decree withour consultance the diet.

2 Ic 3 - 2 prance's foreign and domestic policies, in no de a a commission of the or their consent, to subject the thir day to be a few to the 7 P K 1 5 (t), 1 15 15 or o h and d of he " ty in question, and to gain the garater a durant of the affairs. They were successful in pressing these demands to a varying degree, and the aghts thus obtained were incorporate a --their printeges, which every new rules on his accession had to swear to observe. But

and the state of t out a micronic to his Essates. In the are lents s . An a ever, many Espates strongly influenced the Controlled the granting top a sed many an adventure in the held of foreign

The Estates had no claim to participate in legislation other than money grants. But in practice draft laws and decrees were often sulvented to them, whether they were concerned with crubbeattons of the ture or legal procedure, police matters, rade, the comage the order of succession, minimum atton. Often they served 4 tive to such moters through the which they raised In one field they were most strongly interested, that of religion, in which every individual fest most incomment concerned As the dissolution of the monastenes in many wors vio-

2 m land a za le al revenues were therters he nged by the diet it is true 4 - Protestant principalities the been a rank to reles transfer and a ment I as a district of The second secon pg 1 s 1 s 1 s . . . caponal purposes. Even in Bayana the Estates strongly voiced their religious demands at the diet, and thanks to their efforts the chance was for some time concoded to the lasty. In the secularized ducby. \* Prussia the Estates emerged as the deessee par They dominated the and the administration and made the duke completely dependent on them-

... o a strong prince would not necessarily serves, playing him off against the king of tion is Departured and the control of the control o tion as the heads of the United Contrary to the openion which is usually held. Through lack of funds ment princes were forced to seil the church lands very quickly, and the Estates used the everrepeated demands for money in gain sew of a congruence 1 20 20 0 0 0 0 0 dox Luthernaism. With the exception of 

stateenth century reued parily on the officials employed by them and on the mountners they devel oped, especially on their committees. It is with a small committee rather than with

e de la companya de l to time, and merowhile some maor was required to deal with cara our 

enfoguard the Frances rights. The property naturally would have use the committees to vote them incre and thus to be conceil m sapt que p emajore from a diet, bu vluse attent c were everywhere strongly tesisted by the Estates They institted up preserving other their power of the purse and refused to empower their committees to make any money grants, Only ofter their opposition

and thus preserved their powers.

The machinery provided to a for edministrative tasks was efficient and meanenave, for the number of officials the A to a following rai ire, or for a purely maminal squary

Knowledge of local affairs was an-

other uset which the Estates possessed in contrast with their rulers "foreign" afficials. All the appointments, however, soon became vested in the Estates' committees which ages co-opted their own new members, with or without the conformation of the prince, so that the whole accurang assumed the aspect of a narrow oligarchy dominated by some leading families It certainly true that the Estates - whether the Junkers of the cast or the batchen of Württemberg - neted in the inserests of he clain which they represented, that their " in was nerrow, and that they did not spond for liberty or the modern sense of the term. Street in defending their and and n missing their a me and a commatters of trade or against princely monopmen, they often delended the true mercuta of the country against the prince and as-Microla, in companing about heavy lawait and carrying services and the greadamage counsed by deer and other wild common they championed the aterests of the persunts. In opposing foreship recent ng and too heavy military burdens they prevented waste of the ways excess of petty despotism. Neither can it maly be maintained that the Funks were not will dug to quite ake permanent duttet, nor the they 10 1

These remarks also show that another commons crimens of the Estates is not really justified that they did not crease anything new, but had an entirely nega-

his standard constitutional liestry of the many wrote only a few years ago

The Factors resisted on tions and wrongs improve he the penties had been mediated to the more distributed to pentity and the more distributed to pentity and the other displaces and some firmly haspid to observe the country's phornies.

Even to the country's phornies to the country of the co

With regard to Warttemberg and the

there is no doubt that this absolutest tendency, the references to the changed standed a departure from the letter of the old trusties, were partified.

la other words, the tendency to dentgrate the Cerman Estates and to side with the princes, who and to suppress them, not always been to promuneed that fits years ago a Cerman hetiman exclassed to the side of the absolute state against the Estates. . But his worse has no mained a cry in the wilderoess Recently, bowever. Professor Harring has admitted

that the Estates "formed, through their

more existence, a counter-weight to abso-

of the ameternth century was able to list, up with this inheritance, most clearly and most directly in Witteenberg. "Surely, this consideration alone ought to tend to a revision of the one-sided attende towards the Estates. It is no accident, surely, that the liberal isoverness of the mineteenth century was strongert in those

steas of Germany where the Eastes survived at the sides of liberty, but the principal of self-government were kept alive by the Eastes, as the Freihert vom Stein to clearly perceived in Cleven and Mark Than this tradhien did not die out in German was tradhen did not die out in German was to per a man and the side of the self-government of the

From a postsion of great strength which they occupied in the sixtoenth century mon of the German Entities declined in the seventrenth century indeed as we have wen, the Essates of Bayama already in the enterath century. The causes of this rapid declare, especially in the later sevemeenth century have been ductioned by many histerans. The growth of pencely power has been attributed to the adoption of pristogenuture and the amount of the many partitions, which is the fitteenth contain played into the hands of the Estates. Yes the hundred and fifty years after the idopnon of the Despositio Achillar' as Branden burg were the period of the Estates great est power and in Warntemberg there fol lowed upon the acceptance of the same principle the deposition of Duke Flierhard and the treats of Tubiogen, and then the compelections of the Estates influence in the second half of the systeenth century With the exceptions of Bayana and Heise a similar consolidation occurred at the P No p government Process disputes of another argument which has often been put forward, that of prancely power was due to a second turn, the new position of the Protestant prince as the morning symplectic of his

The Toronto A. Base with the free his gwomen at the part A. Base with the part of the part

land any the sea here a men his upt

the dissolution of the monasteries. But the German princes benefited but aride from the spolution of the Charter in of the dukes of Bavaria on the other hand, was come to the advance of the Counter Referentation the financial and polucial backing the citales were given by the dergy, and to princes. So, liftly vents later were the vicinity of the features of the features of the many thanks of the country hand successful the princes of the princes of the features of the successful the princes of the country hand successful the princes of the country hand successful the certain out the period before the outboard of the Thartes Years Way.

The Pairry Years Was certainly marked a deciate change in the fortunes of the Estates in many German services. But its we have seen, as Geres and Martenberg the Estates influence actually increased as a result of the war Culy where their feeders were Protestants, and the protest Cartality, the the military victories of the Country Influence and their potter of resignors.

perty. Elsewhere the page was much and complex. Nor can it be maintained he after 1648 the Latater wern "rutting from made jouerlish sources that there was no need to defeat them, that they without away without any gear effort on the net of the princes, and that sharp conflicts between prince and Estates only occurred as in exception. The preceding pages and the sharp clashes which occurred a Brandenburg and Prusso provide ample priof that this was not the case. Even in the Harn burg territories the Laures, graphe of their defeat in the Thirty Years War showen a surprising tenacity and survived into the tates earlifeenth century

As a result of the Therty Years War and of the ware against Loon XIV standing armies came eare being to many parts of Lermany.

Drawn into the struggles for power, often against their will, many German princes sought to maitate the example of the most powerfus long as Europe, who

postessed the largest forces and corned were in his terms. I - - car tast to the fit, although the first of the fit of t 

after at the new years of the many the many after another Light by the entire as Fine the Committee of to a expensally by the Thirry Years as a first to be War. After its end recovery took a long white he is the tains for your continued in the west, in the nir 1 - act a - 1 on become an in the first the control of the contro about of it at an about our exploration of a file no war by mile of the process arms in location in E. a. ende de la composition de des de la composition della composition century had not been so belligerent, so we are the second based with struggles for power, the strength common in the a the Carin and on he have per ventures. In the central hour of the Lonvoured the growth of princely authority. too only in Germany. Faced with the power of Louis XIV the methods of the

totes had much in common with the conflight between crown and Parliament, but the outcome was usually the opposite Thanks to the prevalence of the gentry in the House of Commons and its close up to with the uthan merchants and lawyers, the House of Constitutes possessed a social ionsogeneity which, in Germany only caused in Wastemberg, It also existed in the diets of Polano and of Hungary which were enurely dominated by the landed nobility. The therp social and economic conflicts, the antagonum and the rigid separation of notality and towns, which

er a many become from I als XIV seaso notices and the transfer or in this was abstracte the earing the Fig. 5 to be with a second compart of the first terms of the terms. a Room and the practical area of the second of the second of the practical area of the second of the s go in To an enterior of the E in the death of the with the open wife if the Estates, who he see that a see I see take where he is the consideration I are not in the line of the if he can want to talage to the first a some seek in the seek her has that and o the med if to a trace a form of the ( vateur to use many or the many mine of past of the time to The to ex nee and The power of the nee of the notition to the common to the in united opposition to the ling. In the h 1 - 10 capites seemed as acceptanted as was the to the state of the seemed as acceptanted as guarant the to the seemed as a control of the seemed as a seemed The struggles between princes and he posed a Calvinist or a Catholic prince

No German proper careli lie more the Estates as Henry VIII dad, no German pen us st Prince of the second se . A f seed Se e pe or and a leading authories on English constitutional or roughly a straight

h is remarkable that in the Tudor period despote government - there 20 BI DE 10 C 4 and a lite attempt of Pas amount of the inweakness. It was the Tudor policy to rule by means of Parintment because the Tudot sovereigns were not aftaid of Parisment.

In the ameenth century the powers of many German Estates, in the fields of fi-27 6 5 were considerably greater than those of the English Parliament. They had their own me diet and the next, and they dominated tel they exercised no sudicul funcof impractment, and their privates te Ion well-defined than those of Par-ternally so well as externally threatened by other princes and by the Emperor Thry could not poundly follow the hence they sought so custail their powers. although in the seamenth century they p a Ba - 11 to - - great powers to the foruncial field, only grievances before supply. They easily granted somey against fair promoses, without a guarantee that they would ever be d solema undertakings, to violate the a spec new legen to levy takes without of resisting by force such cuttingements of to the courts of the Empire, begang for protectum by the Empetor or a foreign 167 Pe hen e a c and the street , op 625 o a sear Land contra Wartsemberg did not dream of opposing the duke by lurce of arms. The "conspiracy A STATE OF A STATE OF A

government. Here lies one of the decisive differences between the stittude of the English Parliament and that of the German Estates

The great struggles between Royalists and Parliamentarians found little ocho in Germany Only in the ducky of Cleves, where the Estates maintained does connextons with the States General of the United Provinces and were animated by the spirit of Calvinian, was a comparison terach for a more to the the opposition of Parhament to Charles L. It was not the Estates, however who Tarrect the in the late of the Electoral government which accuse them of such ambitions, presumably to blacken them in the even of the friends among the Dutch Estatos, Likewise to the duchy of Calenberg, when the Estates made difficulties apout granting supply, was the chancellor who in 1651 americal that "the principles of the Puritum bocame widespread in Cormany," not the Eatites. who claimed this relationship. In reality however, the spirit of the Foundheads was angularly absent from seventeenth-century Cermeny. Perhaps some of the stronger errors, such as Konigowerg or West came closes to offering armed rethiance to the Great Elector of Bundlen-The state of a ferrigo prioce and represented alien interests. But a mow of force, the arrest of their less was sufficient to recove them to a There was no Landon . . . - 1 a 1 · 1 a 10 · 2 s a prese and less " . h. berg might hope for help an a a a Potand, Wester for and n bi 5 Ceneral his, none was rendered. The nobi ity was not animuted by the spint of the Fronds, nor by that of the Hugaenots, but by that of toyalty to their prince whom they were eager to

bunary movement could arise under such CURRADO PER ber the German Estates fulfilled mapor

serve. The notatity and the towns were

barerly bostile in each other. No revous-

remained alive, especially in the southwest. of Cormany Their opposition may not have been very effective, but it existen never sicless. They preserved the spirit of constitutions, government and liberty in the age of absolute monarchy. In many principalities they showed great vitality even in the eighteenth century. A new special began to permeate them with the coming of the French Revolution and the penetration of French ideas of abovey and equanty. For these reasons alone the Estites deserve an homogred place in German lithrary. They did not reach the great continues of the English Portument or of the Dutch Estates. But in many principals ties they remained their influence much

tant historical functions. Their traditions to get than the representance institutions is so he grant when one all a time to a ratio & to I has been not of the trans of Contract Whole that to the way be tought if Branches that there is the string of the prime pro- of the discherstate in an termination in the c topics and and were of a source of the same of the secondary and if war to be higher to Free and of other Corman grant to the Colorest a country of many different the hier of them, and not the least imputiant, was kept alive by the greensom opposition of the Estates to the principles of absolute government

## THE "NEW MONARCHY" IN SWEDEN

#### CARL INGVAR ANDERSSON

Di Andre in face in 439 him had a halling their after as on his ting to the problem of the problem o BT 15-FL ps that the proper ps to to see to Andrew a him this see a such a fill a contacts Swedish history, culminating in his Erik XIV is recommend cleaner of Swedish Instanced setting

was now up a air way to accomplisture what the Stures had so often attempted but only partially achieved. Taking advantage of the carcumstances, notably Enter to a Line K. bim support, he had succeeded to detach ing Swesten from the Union. Moreover, like Engelbrekt before him. Gustav booked beyond the old from sees and undertook the computest of Bohuman, Backinge, and

Slane, ruling for a perxel over the first The North Control of Sciences of Survey to State order, balmar, and Alvaborg, some still in surrando de la Laborata de la laconación de la construcción de la cons was largely controlled by Chantan a suporter has a way a sted that the ships and money from Lübech sould soon enable the Regent to win the nest of the languam.

The help given by Lübrek had certain

From Carl Ingris Anderson, History of Suceden, translated from Sucreasy Institute in Community New York 1956 pp. 520-15. Reprinted by print his a 15-30. In V. Laught and some George Allentic Chronic and

important consequences. The "honomable gouncil" which governed the sawn was naturally anxious that the capital it had did ad Sand a in principle to firmly guaranteed. This was impossible however until Sweden pourseed a settled and recognized government, and that meant, in effect, a lang. A Rikidag, atsended by delegates from Lubeck, thet in Strangings at Whitsunide 1523, and Gurtay Eriksion Van was elected King of Sweden. The Lubeck counseliers were placed at the right hand of the new N or the rest in a tell standard and shortly afterwards Gustav Vasa and but Council (which had now been recusstructed granted certain very favourable ending rights in Lübech and its allies. The Harny merchants had their proved success ful as their speculation, and they no doubt here as a warm and in the Yang has a willing and

The Danes had already evacuated Alveborg before the election of Gustav Vaia, and within a few weeks he controlled the capital. On Madagamer Day he rode through the worth gate into the sorely ravaged Stockholm, where the was received and admitted with great seremony, with y and circumstation, as was meet. M the Incoming of July Kalmar Coxle our rendered to use of Gustav Vasa's principa. commanders the German nobleman for eend van Melen, and in due course Fin head, ton, tests conquered. Relations of a kind were established with Denmark and type and it or he teams have now a way emoland in her attempt to conquer Gotare no be de to the real and the frontier provinces that his is and annexed; the last to go was Bohaslan, which Gustav Vasa returned until the hegurning of the 1530's.

Nothwithstanding all that had been achieved, however, the accusty of the throne was more apparent than real. The strength of Gustav Vala's position in Sweden depended primarily on the willing to the various localities and to could not always be relied upon. The pol-

v of the Stores had favoured becare and bruisliss en the commessale and the forces which had supported Gustav Vasa might easily be deflected by a change of circumstances or mood. Again, the King had achieved his position with the support of the Sture party, and that party might well hald the view that, in ascending the distinct and excepting the help of Labeck, he had usurped the place which beingged by right to one of Sten State's young some Equally unpredictable was the att ode of the milities and the Church, both of them forces over and above the provincial sothornes. Nor was the King's task made any a made for the fact the floor or and the langdom were indebted to latherk, especially as he had inherited from his predecessors to the late Middle Ages the problem of making both ends meet in his tressury Consequently the first few decades of Gostav Vasa i rule were a period of recurring cross which, with their intugues. their violence, and their trickery vividly by Justineed the methods of the Renoptance

The first crims was procepitated by discontent among the old auberouse of the Store party. Peder Ishabaon Sunnanvader, possibly Step State a chief adviser, was again in Sweden, and it was not jobg before he had fallen foul of the King. Early in 1524 Sten's wickey, Christ na Cyllensticana, returned form disputity in Denmark, eager to rewnter the political in the North of the American Norby Christian II's jast faithful I dlower in Scandinavia, she intrigued against the man who had conted her som from the is stop she had hoped would be them. The fractions population of Datorna were come du la de la la de la della dell the shortage of salt, and these gravances were fully exploited by Protes Sunnanvader, Christian Gellenstierra, and several of Sten's former retainers. The King was also causing dissatisfaction by his apparent interest, exaggerated by ramour in the new and disturbing doctrines preached by the Lutheran reformers, principally the

Swell Olans Peris North a westerposters personne, it are not of I break to a Meninia a a case of the consentation a sate storm. Soren Norby was defeated in Skane, Christina Gyllenstierna was forced to intrender and Peder Sunnagvader Bed to Nucway. Beyond von Melen seused to Germany, and many of the soldiers he lefe CROS IN THE RESERVE AS A RESERVE AS be to and carelegy tem starily test to a enfelog in them, a telem for a series a symbolic victory over the State party by capturing Peder Sunnanvader and his at v And here are a first relates how they were led into Stocknown. "clad in old, threadbare rattered closics, riding backwards on famished horses. Peder Summanuader with a commet of straw unhis head and a broken wooden sword belife sale, Master Knut with a crosser of burch-back." Both men were sentenced to to be a second

Mornwhile, a fresh rising was threatenin, to Dataton and Värmland, led by an 1 matic figure who is known in Switch bustory as the Dollandors. He claused that he was Ston Store's son Nils, who died about this time, but Guitay Visis declared. her he was a farmhand and an impostor Whatever his real silentary, he was a pperied by the Norwegian aristocracy, was were he was on internote terms, and by members of the old State party. The guev-Articular and a cod on the taxes (myoses by the King, the new "Lastieranum," and the recent Leanon for THE THE REPORT OF THE PARTY OF

in Costav Vasa repited in his praisiop 10 at 48, 14 (2) 8 (6) Jr (4) the quality belong a set nothing but the press . Go, we can and the Gospet, and have not a firm harmed none but those who adon them. the duturbances continued, and the timehome we nome a by a married well had " I als own against the new hame of You. The King had simultaneously to cope with the uncurbed defiance of the

the or source on account on the speed repairment, die and a conwill be had not on the common to then in the field of the Y to n an ner law , on qual lose heart ) and a al J. 1 (4 L) 2 , 4 1 c n 4 c 4 nungs and a law tan sirvice to put at a second centralization is ? . . . . . . . . . by the Stores aiming bot and to leyal trueps. 1 c businesses of the turn meated a second a the recognition of the state of the construction of the co ports were as truling a little to a little vided at least, N 14 some of these care is according tute , e falt.

Ste No c the Younge of the war foul of the leaders of the years tack I then, then, he see on way when Lather unable to a Olaus Petri an at a why had a comple between the new teaching and or a state of coherited To Church was as a r b war r be as the counto a K will subdue the for near a 4 a t | 6 features, he maximum riper as he disposal for and steep and to the No. An do Could mened 25 s per section of against of per confine of the per come by the or in a of 52.4 per cent by the at reasons total however, be

THE PROPERTY SEATTLE IS A CHARGE THE LAND To the state of th who content they and on the party west;

need that it miand, where nobil is and Church had not achieved at a long a positson, the peasants' land amounted to over 96 per cent, of the whole A house he has a marine from the form Linkoping, had been a signed of a Gustav Vasa, it was not long e e 'e wo were on the terms The Ku . The se bish ope to the more and to be promised for loans and 5. To d S area and the grant to the . I. The manufacture of the same of the sa . . . . . . . . . . . . y 6 16 18 325 A A REP FEE E " " ugte so le le c to the state of th 1 1 4 a per the pend 2 ( 7 3 W 20 SI) sufficient for the country's needs. The Let A be a be a beautiful a rate parte proba ing a fer part 3 of the monesteries, and they were demanding compressation in the form of crown bels The King in turn pointed out that since the second of th party of the second and the same of th the figure of the control to the I we we done he will no best

9 16 , by here argued his ask is his skill t at the second to the the man of the more The fall was (shough be did not reveal it at the time)

on at more at and against to those who repred d a m n he n he er ul'area

that his proper for a centralized adminisbland, a me product around we see he par is with the mediateta system under which large bels were bestowed on the nobles, though he admitted that they were justiced in asking aid or fiels of the crown He conclusied his statement with a clear beet as to where the solution was to be found - namely in the Church - diereby petting into the nobles mouths the souwer a desired. With irrefutable logic he had linked together the new administrative system, the crown t need for increased inzome, and the demands of the nobles. Let the Church meet the crown a demands for money and the nobies demands for bels And estates.

The nobles responded precisely in the gunner he had intended. They made detailed proposals as to how the property and menme of the Church should best be used for the benefit of the cyclyp and the nobility, and they promised to support the hing against all rebels. The other busites - apart from the ciergy, who had no voice with the nobles in all essentials, and the decisions were enacted in the famous Ribertag decree known a to V ... to carries rowned by the bishops were to be handed over to the King, who was also to determine the number of soldiers they doubt manacin-The surplus revenues of the bishops, the cathedrals, and the canons were to be regularly paid to the King in cash. The monasteries were to be banded over intact as fiels to the nobles. Al reover the publes were to be permatted on certain conditions to reclaim the estates which they had given to the Church state the modle of the fif according to a later statute, the Visterks Ordinantia, the power of the State over the Church was established in a manner which paved the way for further progress along the lines and down in the Vasteras Recent.

Gustav Vess had thus shrewdly got the Estates exactly where he wanted them. The representatives of the Church were powerless against the tinanimity of the nobles, burgenes, and pessants; and in the following years the acquisition by the State of Church revenues brought about a reduction in ecclesiastical property which affected even the parishes, Flaving athleyed this great victory over the Church's powerful "State within a State" - a victory which he did not fail nothlesdy to exploit - Gustav Vana was able to pressof the hand of the form of In exact to burn be sent at lace on parishes, and provinces by a centralized administration. The nobility's demand for the expense of the Church, and the admanistrative reforms could be undertaken with little fear of opposition from the acu-

the unconditional support of the Estates for any step he might take against the Darjunkers. Having summoned the rebels mer last tradaer species ca and water to the a with the tell Processing to the here as the more king of pay of f. att their voices and wept, fell on their it ices, pearing and beseeching mercy of the King in God's name " Thus dis Cantar Vana hanself personale his chronicler Peder Svari to densifie the great neckoning which or was the Visteria decisions. Finally the Datmokere hunself, who had feel to Ger · Pells 1 sh

I had also been decreed at the Vasteria ret God's word should purely and data y be processed in the langulors - a is to very to forth poper to the Fr que a see present the spiritual aspect of A Common light winning beautiful by I wape for the propagation of Lutherna ductrine. There was as yet no question of a final break with the Pope But even before the Vasteras meeting Olaus Petri had elect to Social a hear a social and five years later, in 1531 he drew up Vasa was really anxious. Once again for

some of the hand the way a groups of features of the early Swedish Reformation "We in Sweden also belong to God, at do other nations, and the timque we have has been given in us by God . . " Mass should therefore be relebrated in Swedish. But he also preed another fundamental principle, that of toleranon. "Let none be constrained to forced in attend the Swedishservice . . . In the same way at mone can be forced to God's word, freely and unconstrainedly must it be accepted, if it is to best front." After the Vasterts flokulag it became clear that there was an impussable. , all between the members of the old sourch and the young and ruthlest Statebunder and Gustay Vava's critivale faith Alegsover the King was now certain of Jul counselfur linkop blass Brack, coop. left the country meser to return.

But all was not set plant saling for the K an home of the Page ants, conservative by nature, were suspicloss of the innovations in the Church and, if they found the right leaders, were till capable of breaking out. And althous the Store purer was defeated, leaders and arstal be found. Some bold churchman might try and recrewe the louns of Viato a trade of te nobility had supported the King's policy on servent of the advantages they were of ferred, there were still representatives of the old anatocines who, realizing what the outcome must be preferred to gain forces with the Church. After all the demagnetic methods which Gustav Visia had inherited from the Stores could equally well be used against him. The facul prominent of these lords true Time Joneson Tre Roser, who In 1529, with the assistance at 1 Magnes of Skara he incited the peasantry of Spring or a contra terget land to raw against the King, and the THE REPORT OF THE RESIDENCE OF THE PARTY OF ones when were some I have in fand and Halangland. The state of affairs tone (several of them, incidentally, same in the Church offered mutches material to-day in J. O. Walling revised versions); for propagands, and for a time Gustav tune un led in him however, and the risr was gut down by a emploration of violence, subterfuge and pare son. Some of A A CCLA A TON P commence as a man of the man time San In For Kale creed thus one bell in every church should be sperificed to the exchaquer. At first the words to the towns and mort the following year it was ex-7 . 41 AU cient beliefs, the belly, which called the congregation to warship and partied the 1 4 11 put in the religious life of the people ever since the time when they had first pealed to the and believ during the ge at 50 church-building in the Middle Ages, In Bergslagen and I k 27 4 4 4 4 15 retinue included both Coway Trolle, an const ten vests, and the leaders or from the Vistergoland page Total Control of the Control of was under way - Gustav Vasa had 1 speriod of his teigh. Hark tre se over, and at Koppurherget, in Feb. 119 1533. Gustav Vine settled .... a sec with the unruly men of Dalama for the ata 1 0 c 11 de for the total total or some of the materialents were men et in the second for a forced to demand the by 4 4 hr 4 friends were never re-

By this time Gustav Vasa had completed in all executable the reorganization of the administration Many of the mediaeval tr as to the state of the state had already been largely incorporated into vised by the a has Chargery and Treastry The nobal and led show fiels which comed royal casales were replaced by bar dependent on the cena one the Year of a t a faces toyouted by currentances, and many of the chief nobies had died during the early years of his reig. this social trass a prince to proure of the Vintergotland . . . be a vis no compet generation ... at guard the interests of the higher aristocracy and the remaining members had been placated by the decline in the lower of the Carl Carried at the State of with sledge hammers, and driven away. To could thus proceed a thous any very very and the law ly [] by a grant of the other and all the start harm and man grant stead, and he had also season much from the Stures, from the excellent mate mate agement of the Church and from Lubeck A second to the second second of the land taxts, and reorganized the varia the state of yielded could be put Further a compre-In the same of the law of revenues of the crown in ready money and · 3 g · · · · · · n unprecedented achievement. The K ... ger than a residence of the second with the critical levies of oxen, butter, and who had supported hun . he beginning . . , and sung them to ensure supplies And the state of t famme thereby removing one of the standand grievances. The increasing appropria-The test and a well than the both property all due carried out, and thus the most recalci- lightened the burden of tasation and press subdued. The King's path was one positives, and the King was now able to tains, bloody, but it led him to his goal, surract capable mea into his service by the

offer of good return is to good one on a seen read read was for a substantial and the interested power of the King was further manifested in the success of his poncy of annuncipating the Swedish Church Inter Borne, a process which was completed during the 1530°s.

On many occasions during the best hiteen years of his reign 2 had seemed as though the lung must give up. He had consist the been forced to use the chreat of abdication as a weather the Fire the state of the fire of the state of t alicus in a sign state of the state of HERPIN A LEG AS A TO THE ME AT A for process for the second at make the in face in a me in the of surrendering, the had also by identified himself with his langdom, which he ruled as to the manner him. The weakening of Labech's hold on him, however, he owed partly to external circumstances. The end of the best phase of his torge had seen the right in Dentarth of a domestic crisis known as the Green (Count's) Frud - so called after the Count of Oldenburg, who had commanded a strong army of merce-

n in Tubes, and e ewhere against the Common to Common to Common to Common to the Same of t

Thus Gustar Vies had every ande the three main obsticles to his goal—the Charteh, provincial self-government, and a six has been given as the system which the states has a should be stop as this point, or could be—dane he, indeed—go-

## PARLIAMENTARY MONARCHY

#### ROBERT HOWARD LORD

The ore Prices: A their Hill will cord war born or PPS. He will a geoderic et al. of the normal hills and the second seco

r is penerally agreed that one of the Presentation of the Middle have not the deal of the A or topic on there are and distrements in and the property of the female n -1 than n he general whome of the ope touts in and he ers if also ly motor he have memorate a policy 4 of at 0 as be a to pur samewary nonar by 4 c. exceptibility tenta un of expermust a my a made for he had the or h is and opterate to detail as This period extend on a trong for me vector to the seventeenth century. The hallmark of it is the fact that the power of he rain was been more a una extenwar can ea by that if assembles in pureie ier ichose members ih might die is and removably represent no in person and e classes, we're also regarded go represent to an a pene of way he what po to n of the and Bu the au Riant who have cated of the representative instructures of this period have usually contimed their studies to one or two to three countries to America and Bossin atten-

tion has been centered armore entirely on the English Parlament, the French States to or the Seanah Corres. What has not been adequately recognized, in the first place, is the universality of the phenomenon. The fact is that class-paragments or assemblies of estates areae not merely in the three kingdoms at the Braish Isles, but an all the realms of the liberian pentusula. et and an all the French provinces, in he than boman Empire and in nearly all is a series with a country by North erands, and Ita. To the highestop kingdoms, Hungas R. ess. a are Marcory. Except for the relies of Germany and Its. who was no blies of estates were obviously out of the 40 cm sup by That while of a w luckish consusest out short the natura course of development parliaments are found in this period in every state in Eusope from Scotland to Hungary and from Portugal in Russia.

These hundreds of parliaments, national and provincial, ought to be studied comparatively, if we are ever to have an adequate conception of the constitutional de-

From Robert Howard Lord, "The Parliaments of the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period," Catholic Historical Review, XVI (1930), pp. 125-144. Represed by permanion of the Catholic Historical Review.

velopment of Europe at a whole, and not sim, a most of generalizations based on the history of three or four of the larger countries. But no such comparative anide has ever been made. From the lack of it many misconceptions have amon e. g., that the English Parliament was in nearly every respect unique, or that England was the only country in Europe that developed a vigorous and effective parliamentary system, or that England alone preserved its parliament uninterraptedly from the Maddle Ages down to the naneteenth century

In a paper like this it is obviously anpossible to enter tate any detailed treatment of so sast a field the sance an one has yet undertaken to present even a brief comparative survey of the whole group of Euenpean parauments of that age, from Edinbuigh and Lisbon to Moscow perhaps it may be of interest to make that among

The assemblies as question went by variour names: "Parliament," in England, Ireland, Soxland, Stelly, Naples, and the Papal States, and (for certain special pr sembles) in Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia (in Sponish and Italian "Parkeusento"); "Cortex" for the ordinary parks. ments of Portuga, and the Spanish long. come, "States General" and "Provincial Estates" in France and the Netherlands. "Stot!" to Predmont, but "Congregations generali" for the entates representing the At the street of the street of bayery, Heichman in the Holy Roman Empire, and "Landing" in the German terziterfa. pipr- a etc etc etc etc VIDE A NEW OF STREET and being man to get the transcript a real or testly, "Overalgy and / met " for" ("suembles of the land") in Hungary and Russo - although for all the perhaments of Central and Northern Europe the custom of our language at to

that it is the evolution when, and the dra sea a acquie to the building up a more unified and more

le way one could macronal or terrational grate but not yet strong no him or with as be liked autocraticall % enlisting the six of the n 4 tive cusses of lation, when the nobtes, no longer de to rule n ently in their localines, maght stall hope by corporate organization and collective action to wield a large power over the common cities a vigorius new social class had come The same of the sa defend and often with ambigons to have a vesce in public affaurs equal to that of the the state of the s ift is No. 10 100 m . . . \\ c THE PERSON AND THE PERSON not divine a a different or to be the track of the be documents lands and the customary feuclal sids - that usually conduced most some fully to the railing of the first purliaments. Pr . . I m un . . . A PART OF THE PART it much burney a grant Sculend, Sweden, a 4 be princes for the set of the in the same of the second section b. tage n he at at park . the second second \$ " C | 0 | K | 2 MM | 1 2 d used constitution of the Paris, and the a tare e a l . a la The section of the sale are home is every in a serie of the a term in the table to the contract of the con of the more man an area attach the state of the special I to may while or a harrier that all the A go are the with m he sen is a man a sil & be pre tes auction and to a n et and in a me countries by an the non-ty

It was madura, has with the to have a large er ter r a next more of ones. promote year on and rethe search of the search of the search e e e es es es la 4 4 1 2 2 2 0 B satisfied the second second second the c t t were necessary (1) that the consultation of all the leading sural clames, especially of the townsmen, so to the state of the state of the state of purely sporadic (2) that their mount representation should assume fixed forms heing called thereby to acclaim demains already reached by the prince, should be admitted to an effective collaboration with him and to a certain measure of power and responsibility.

For some time, indeed, an alternative Black Control of the Black A 1 1 4 P ter a management send its agents around the country to negottate separately with the local communition or with certain social groups. Before long it was, of course, discovered that the or was combenous, slow, and on certain that the more effective plan would be, issuead of having the representatives of the lung go to the country, to have the n, we tives of the country come to the king. Nevertheless, long after central parluments had been introduced, the crown

community or with each class upperately, for taxation especially. And in coun-PERCENTIAL TO THE ACT OF THE PARTY THE strongly entrenched, they often served as organs for the election of deputies to the paraments, which thus appeared as "concentranens of local machinery" (England,

continued in most countries occasionally to

par rated o cali

I . O magge to date he estate ment of the second and the second winn he commons with a count be he recreated by given a man the national or territorial assemblies. This

I .

procedure, though open to many objecas a larger to the areas of administration of of the "there estate" was, indeed, the decrvive step in the transformation of the older to a training the second article thing that might puts for a representation of the whole population. Moreover some are of dates is necessary if we are to have any coherent presure of the course of this "wave of parliamentarion," which slowly over-overal the continent. Hence it may be pur to the second of a family of table showing the relative priority or laterness of the various countries in the escabinhment of parhaments, taking as a rough criterion the dates at which elected deputies of the cities and began to be nimmoned more or less regularly to the national or territorial assemblies.

It is a vexed question precisely who e assemblies of the three entates first appeaced in Europe One can find rague not be a bug release Catagorna as 10th in Novarie in 1134; in No to 1 62 or 1161; to Agencia to 1182, to Boom to "the twelfth century", in Savor in "the missaic of the twelfth cenhary" Leaving out of account such uncertain beginnings, we may, using the criterron defined above arrange the order a which has been a second of the lument appears in the several more late As I The Transfer

In general, the wave seems to have started down second the Pyrenectwhether on the southern or on the northern side is not quite certain - in the later tweath century in the thirteenth century It overspread the Iberian peninsula, many Italian states, and perhaps southern France Around 1300 it had reached the Brotish bles. In the fourtrenth century it spread to nearly every province or territorial state of France, the Netterlands, and Germany On the stronger states of Eastern Cermony assemblies of estates appear even in the thirteenth century). The Scandingvian kingdoms, Hungary and Poland, developed their parliaments only in the last century of the Middle Ages; and in Russa, althoras the eres namenas are an or either Lymba harm a way are no high the presence in them of excited deputies of he was carried by a six s

With the notable exception of England, where class distinctions were relatively weak and confused, virtually el, the parliements here in question were essentially 45-SERVICE CONTRACTOR OF THE SEC primar by the lessions social chases and this outstanding class-character is one of the chief differences between them and mod een paragrents. With respect to the classes end were the highward shifter will go that he phar in the business.

The ciergy, usually considered "the first estate," appear at some ome in virtually all the assemblies here considered. As a sepatate exists, however they voluntarily w ou, of the national parliament in nd after the male to of the four-- a Saples, Poland, Hungary, print and a so print no far as, in the fund I has a him senamed, the presence of the prelates among the barons could be connumered a representation of the whole clerical body After the Reformation this estate also vanished from the parliaments of most of the Protesture German states, the Dutch ile . blu, and (most of the time? Scotland sobjes and gentry ("barons," "lords," "knights," "serving men" - by whatsoever to the ties of the called) were a class. attention to the new weather ut on the insteenth century they drop out in Castile Wütttemberg, and some

The "burgetter of the good towns" were product element, hat was almost never lack ing. They causes to attend the Potish Dier. however by the close of the sixteenth century; and in Boheram, Moravia, and Hungard to take of the Office inhow this was reduced to such nother that they guest as well have coased to ettend.

In contrast to the townsmen, the pearantry enjoyed representation only in a few anstances at the French St. is see to red in Switzenand the Tyrol, Presland Norway Sworen and until 1627 Denman.

in venera la ten escanadon of clancia sta for wear of savery where the cotics see min he me had no had et an Para water the new and rm as did my side same about than is a after his the content was net was the That I have be to to a carrette to he to the No a ser Okan arab con a m back his become which to me to In the ball of the beat the a in the median market a dish 5 7 -

Lie Stan Count o san frein stands out nee only become of the completeness with which all classes - clergy nobjes, townsmen, and pessants - were represented in it, but also because an classes elected their delegates, and through an electoral procedure more highly or-, nized than in any other country, and y what in the rural districts, at least, amounted almost to universal suffrage. Inmary contrast to this, for most parlaments the rule was that election was practiced area to the area to at and of the pessants (where these latter had

n exist of a second р т 2 no major que els se The same of the same of english to the terminal terminal less variety of rules and forms that design and design and

untatives? And even for the tawns,

The clergy were represented to most 174 h J g g the state of the s to a few instances, notable to the I of 4 Courts and by Dark of Names

he in the sile to the st months or a and I must be a be to me School Price a Proposition d de les me ma bene

which he make states and admided r haires of firence s. at \ a (4 the sames tog, in the Scandinavan langdoms, and in Naples and Socily. The evils of such a system were numerous and patent. It restalted too often to swamping a parliament with hordes of poverty-stricken, ignorant,

their lungs or their votes in the highest battler, or else rager only in each the avsembly's business through at once or turn if over to a committee in order to get home. as seen as possible. But so strong was the persudice that all problemen ought to have at least the right of attending, whether us a patrione duty or in order to circumvent the schemes of the crown or the obgarchi, em of having the man of

o saftes uld seldom prevail. It did prevais setty countries too large an permit of the

ocous care of England and Iteland, where the same and bechalden chose the "knights of the done" in the county court, the nobles of France rame to elect their deputies to the States Control in budgage autemblies, three of Hongary those their representatives in purlament at their "s ainty congregations" those of Pouted at the same in their "dictines" those of Last Provide in their Aeroter gatherings, and those of Muscowy in their userd sosembires, for all efforts to introduce this exitem to such large realiza as Bohemia, Dynmark, and Sweden Finland failed

In their forms of meeting and deliberatung nearly all the parliaments here surreyed present great unadambes. Almost everywhere the king of prince alone had the right of summoning the amembly. As a rule, the letters of convocation specified our to delicere to a little apwante of the two equally avoided this unpleasant necessity whenever it felt strong enough to do so. The place of meeting ordinarily depended

only on the choice of the ruler. Almost any

town large enough to accommodate ruch a gathering might serve, and sometimes meetings were even held in the open country like the Polish Election Diets, the old Hungarian assemblies on the Rakos helo. or the early Parlamenta of From on horseback on the plant of Campolicano, Regularity as to the time of meeting was also usuatedly the exception. Although in nearly every country the estates Inequently demanded and the rulers something reed annual or biennial or tra- or ments such promises were not observed. Neverthelms, waile countries (e.g., France, Denmark, Bosset, the national anombly was called only rarely, and under exceptional circumclances, to most countries meetings were held rather frequently - every two or Office and a specific state of

The tenson was almost invarious special to a some troop too bridge of to be estated painty on en la a octa proposition . subskites. After this the averably mustly Notes to a second se estates" or "christe" in which it was accastomed to deliberate. And on this pay fee of the division into bennes, or all may for the efficient working of a partiament. penetice varied widely Numerous exits ples can be cited for every system from one out the to the

An anembly removing of only one house appears in Castile (after 1548) and in Flanders, since all orden except the cities had been eliminated, and in certain parliaments where all classes were accustomed to sit together in one chamber, alshough some ones not og by estates - as in Scotland, Languedoc, Picomout, and Visiter

scameralism often regarded as one of those unique inventions or happy socidents that have made the fortune of England, was, in fact, practiced in many countries. It might arise through the disappearance of one of the three estates usually found in these assemblies, of the clergy (in in

most of the Protestant Cornate rectiones of a Dar of the Directi Re was to of the nite of a contestion Supplement to appear the me he set a gether as an upper house ("grand corps and the communers as a lower chamber are may are a second to the and the same property in the note to be to be and a second a second OL I THE TO SHE THE KNOT CHAMILE that strongs in series are in the series I données dut de cand conce e the her it he wastus it ele too and bear to conserved a common to and domest lines have not us the Magnum Concilium reappears as the Senate or Table of Magnates, compact of presents and high officials, while a saw r house, the Chamber or Table of Deputies, was furned from the elected representa-The se of the second second second second en munt, however, quickly disappearing in P. 103

y for he commonest arrangement on the propert was a second of the houses. Usually it was - clergy, nobles, and cities, as in Portagal, Navarre, Cata-Jonia, Valencia, the States-General and ment Provinced Estates in France and in the Nedlerlands, Sicily, many German Dieta Denmark Cafter the elimination of pensant depattles), and, apparently Busia Lisewisere transmeralism arms from the fuct that while the clergy vanished as a or one estate, the greater and the lesser 1. ity formed distinct cartae (Bohema, Samony, Silesay East 1 to 1 to 1 vision of the German Imperial Diet into three carine electors, princes, and cines, was a sumewhat on a car of

I notify a few. other and a second and a sec

A division may three or four houses greatly approvated two other characteristic weaknesses of the paraignous of that

per to the difficulty of agreeing as to have Value of the to the an id the anside the things have it makes the all a the corale on a feet no bear de e e e chambers, unanimity was required in order to peep a measure, whether two mater "land" a third, or whether the commont most accept whatever the higher orders agreed upon. Usually the rule prethe pipe of the necessary -- with resulting compressions AND THE RESERVE OF TH or four estates into line. Sometimes, howa a de de en to the or the same majority sine of the parlament sittle and when the second a system, practiced, a. g., or Langueduc and sometimes in the French Stairs Conera, unually favored the Chird I mate as outnumbering all the rest, But occasionally it worked out the other way, as in Bottomia, where alterately the towns were reduced to having only a single collective vote it it., for parliamentary decisions all the datage of

Lyen more difficult was the within and vidual estates of establishing majority rule. The old idea that, over a 1 above the ordinary femal obligations, no one rould be bound to anything to which he had not freely consented; the tradition that single leads or provinces or latters might bergain separately with the erosen, outside parliament and for a time even in parament, the extreme importance attached by the provileged classes to their personal or local "liberties", the danger of troubles or even civil war if the manuary attempted in impose their will on grouply reloctant colleagues, the principle of the Roman law Vote son must remembed, and number and at - all these things long combined to uphold the idea that a my greity vote need not necessarily enery a

thats one proof country square

measure that the opposition of a considervoice are not needly in be control; they much he weighted Jishou's note! there are numerous examples in show the long survival of the reappearance of the ideas.

For taxes, at least, unanumous agreement was necessary, so it was closured in Castile, in the German Reschetag, in the Papal States. In the Dutch Republic unanumity was required for decisions of the States Ceneral about taxes, peace or war, and for decisions of the Pavancial Estates about a large and indefinite number of questions. In the Swins Federal Dies almost all

vided that a question on which purhament

Charles St. 2 ... Units

e e he e vax

- t, "of the water and more powerpure of the nation." In the Russian Zemaki Sobors the majority principle scema never to have been established In Casa · · · · · I had I at the of the among clergy and canes, unamin war required in the coble estate, so that a size cle pobleman could thwest a project by 6 , 1 2 a · 1 4 cistons, in he valid, must be passed by the nobleme nomine discrepants - hence the tale of a certain incorrigible inporter of one which could be overcome The same of the sa În Aragon unanimous agreement was demanded rest only in one estate, but in all four, and any member could detest a pro-In a said to the s s 42.4 ps II 305 a 4 . . Interest and the to extend the parameter of the er to the first to the terms of the Liberum Veto, through which, as practiced from 1652 on a single member of the Diet by the sample formula. Ase pozuvdous ("I will not permit? could not only thware

the proposal to which he objected, but also

distable the Diet at once and nullify all the decisions previously made by the arsembly

Another have of medieval parliaments was the system of imperative mandates. A deputy being considered as an ambassoup or procuming more than as a national counseller, assume received a in his conenturers more or less detailed instructions, which often limited and hampered him in the extreme, If the matters to come up to parlument were known to advance, he might have the late that he was to follow absolutely prescribed if not, he might be ordered to agree to nothing without consuling his constituents. Still Turther to increase has sense of responsibility, he might be required, at the close of parliament to give a full account of his conduct at a special meeting of the social assembly that had elected but (as in the "reand one has an appeared and

I are and Last Person before pure on the second of the second of the second of the second deputy para with his bead for so doing.

Water to a more party . He generally and the same of group to be and the norm to the amporative mandates were widely used in almost every parliament of the period, except on England and Aragon. Although the system had to merits in strengthering the hands of the estates against the crown, a was on the whole disastrous, purticularly because of the endless delays result ng from it, and because it, ended to the settlement of national questions on the basis of narrow local views and interests, Esperially in certain countrier alse Cascle, France, Cerminy Poland, and Hungary his was one of the worst obstacles to the efficient functioning of the national magnitude

Par namentary technique, thin gli in general still crude, does show various intensiting developments in that period. One was the extensive use of committees. Often they were explored during the sentions of the assembly so effect an agreement be

twoen the estates or with the crowd to draft responses, pentions, or legislation, to acceptor accessor estat required secrecy, or judicial business Some paraments came near to charactery their functions into the hands of a communtoe. In Napies, for instance, in the 103 teenth and seventeenth centuries, the Parlamento-Generate did luttle cave to vote the subsidies and then elect a committee called the Purlamento-Senata, which attended to nearly all other business Still more two waters was the famous commit too in Scotland is led the "Lords of the At scien," which from the later fourteenth to the seventeenth century almost replaced the national assembly, at times even legislatting and levy ng taxes quite independmay At late at the enign of Charles I, the Se to Partiament was wont to meet uncy owice in a senson the first time to charge the Lords of the Articles, and the the state of the state of the state of sanctioning what they had done. And in various German states in the later period full meetings of the Diet virtually censed to be held, being reputed by committees of the enough (Annahustage). Finally one may note the custom of electing a commi tee which during the intervals between padamentary setuons, was to watch over the operates of the estates, or the executton of decisions or laws made in puriament, or to carry on various postural, adquiphrative, or financial tasks that purchmont and anamed. In the emtern Spanish kingdoms, to certain French provinces like Languedoc or Beittany, 22 Naples and Si te Compa a pa Fere signaling committees . Deputations, THE REPORT OF THE PARTY OF

Feet naming committees. Teputations, in the political life of the juent of integrible meaning of particularly meaning of particularly meaning of particular meaning of supervision and considerable meaning of

Medieval assembles usually ended, as they begun, with a joint sessors of all the estates in the presence of the prince or his

representatives. In some lands like France

Carrie and to a super a new ? to be pertuncting and mean king, after wringing tases out of the deput ues, being chiefly anticos to tend them home at once without listening to their grievances. But in many countries the final session had the utmost importance. It was then and then alone that parliament effecneally transacted business. For the custom has smen that none of the agreements previously teached during the assembly should be regarded as definance upful at the end all of them - the concrisions Imade by the interes to the covern and the concessions, made by the crown to the extaxes - were gathered up into one great final act, which, after being solomaly sanctioned by grown and estates stille at the final sension, acquired birating force This system of "final acts," "articles," per service of the service of

they might be called, is found in Seieland, Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, Sicily, all the German Diets, Sweden, Boliemia, Flungary, and Poland. As a technical

on a graph of takes dependent upon

but its disadvantages are obvious, particularly the fact that if a parliament broke up without curong to a "final act," all the previous work of the acidon wint for nothing. At any tate, such compacts hetween crown and estates, above title treation between independent assurerizing, illustrate the disabute conception of the state that underlies the parliamentages of this period up at more developed forms.

to me be a systematic consultations of the modern sort. The estates almont everywhere did, indeed, at one time or another wring from their rulers written for a second to me a second a son a construction of a son a construction of a estate son a them as a second and inconsessable sphere of activity (bu, at bot inconsessable sphere of activity (bu, at bot tum everything depended on the ever-varying political situation and the ever-var ing balance of power as between the crown and the estates. Whenever the crown fell strong it was prone to forget, in deay, or

the was prone to forget, to deny, or mentary rights, no matter whether they were based on custom or on acreal charters. A property of the land in a great crisis, the estates in their turn were lakely to take the bit in their turn to extend their scope almost without limits, or even virtually to coquestrate the government. When the crown was up, purhament was down, and your verta — that is the most general stale that can be laid down in the matter.

The most consum and important activity of the estates was the granting of taxes. Landings and Goldings—that German adage might have been applied to nearly a these purliaments. Almost everywhere usee in Russia, Denmark, and Norwey), the principle came to be recognized that, are reversies, no rates could be imposed with not the consent of the estates. It was a

high degree of power and indispersibility. And it easy be said that in most construst the sole right of the estates to grant taxes was, on the whole, well maintained down to the seventeenth century. There is, however, the well-known exception of Francis, where the States-Ceneral loss this power from 1440 on, and the Provincial Example, the about the some period, could do lattle more than debate how taxes that could not be estapped raight best be paid.

The a set sphere of pur amonously accretic was in legislation. As these as the as less one influence in the acceptance of the acceptance o

a great deal of toyal law-making. The French States-General and the Costman and Portuguese Cortes in the later period startely got beyond this. But nothing could be more enoneous than the assumption often made (by writers whose know) edge of Continental systems hardly extends beyond France or Castile) that the English Parliament was the only assembly of that time that discovered how to gain E to a fry some power by the same grants of unpply depend on redress of greevences, and by drawing up their demands in the form of "bills" ready to become "acts" as soon as they received the ros it is the In fact both these devices came in a marneed in most Commente, parliaments in the eastern Spanish kingdoms, Sicily, the Certoup states, Swedon, Poland, Dolumia, and Hangury Untilly this did not electricate a see amount of legisla ion by the crown without the sanction of he catales. but, on the other hand, in Germany at least we have certain opheren the entates could to the project of the project control in general the principle was widespread the a mere to ear laws quet a bemade only with the consent and porturing tion of parliament; and deere were k is doms like Poland or Aragon where this principle was very strictly carried out

Thirdly, there with a wait range of functions which most paraments conceines atrogated to themselves, especially in times or a surface of the surface of the

attempts to dictate the choice of the prince's advisors or to force upon him a council vinator elected or the submit to through much of the expression of a parameter appointing

a regent, fixing the succession to the throne, or even for long periods freely electing its rulers. Even more common was the custom that the matter thould prewribe how the ignes they granted should be expended, or should undertake the collection and disbursement through their own agents and treasury. Many partiaments (e. g., the eastern Spanish king dome, Languedoc, Britiany the German states) came in have quite a stall of permament officials of their own, and to take a large part and only in the financial but an the general administration of the county Finalty, the assumption some as to be that the English Parameter on the bused the functions of a legislative and rex-granting healy with those of a high and if gather a wanted to the states Commental assembles of estates present the since only a one of front is early in Angon, Poland, and universally among the German states?

It is also a mistake, and a not uncomrune one, to suppose that all the Conterrita da viril a materidado as in trance, and that England alone kept her parliament continuously down to mouern tisses. It is frue that the seventeenth and early eighteenth centimes saw the exfunction of not a few of the old parliaments. I are disappear in most of the French m x nex under Rabeneu and Louis NV) in Portuga (after 1697), the rastern Spanish kingdoms , 1707 143. Naples (after 1634, Predmont (after 1592), Sawas ago if or come of his warriors en in a la cavaria after 1669), in Desuma a way way (after 1661), in I to a re 682). But they previded down to the French Revolution in many instances in a direct French a constant in Casale, Navarre, Sic by, the Durch Republic, Belgium, the German Impena-Net, many German states (I ke Saxorer and Hanover) Austria, Bohemia Humgary Postnet, and Sweden. In most of these cases, indeed, the hand of the monarch was heavy upon them, and the estates seemed sunk in lethargy or stricken with pulsy But

in some instances - notably in Sweden, Poland. Hangary, and among the German and a sea to the sea aid personnean continued to show a great deal of life and activity down to the end.

ROSERT FIGWARD LOSD

The assemblies that have been surveyed here had many defects and weaknesses. They were not, at least for modern times. sufficiently representative they retred on Asy a late 400 - 15 - 5 - 5 - 5 - 5 - 5

with anti-

quated political and social ideals, and walk Light of the light of the control of enes the crown prevailed over them be cause it, better than they, represented the property and ty and efficient postrometal. Best purha--1- -1conducty and emperation among the nevend social classes. From those peabouses and conflicts between the estates which played such a rôle in France in 1789, or which enabled the Danish trown in 1660 by a coup d'eter en make molf abusture. And there are many other weaknesses that might be listed the chaotic methods of electing deputies, imperative mandates, the me of it is a second enforcing the will of the majority, the unoperating which in many countries always the second to a consequence assisted on men's minds only with new taxes, the desire so often manifested even by the privileged classes to escape from paroccupating in parliament in order to avoid presented out and one of a proper

Nevertheless, the old parluments in many ways rendered exportant services. They gave the grown what was on the whole a frunful and a long indispensable cooperation in busiding up, out of the chaos and disintegration of feudalism, the unified modern state. By drawing representatives of the leading social classes and of every locality together into regular collaboration on common problems, they helpful much to create a sense of common interests and a national spirit. We may also

be grateful to them for having damagh Continues implement and mail and in mos European countries certain precious the state of the s of peoples as against monarchs, no taxation without representation, government carried on through and with the consent of the governed, the representative system. Those ideas might be for a time obscured, but

they were never lost. And when In the nunescenth centucy the new movements for democracy and constitutionalism set in, most European nations did not need to look abroad entirely for guidances nearly everywhere the friends of liberty could find traditions, precedents, principles, and inspiration in the records of their own parliements of the Middle Ages.

## THE LIMITATIONS OF ABSOLUTISM IN THE "NEW MONARCHIES"

J. RUSSELL MAJOR

His concept of a renalisance by the A defended and attacked ever Burchhardt published his Contraction of the Resonance us Italy pearly a century ago. There are those who see in the fif trenth and sixteenth rentance a definite period of European history Others rolog rize in these years only a continued atouth that had begun well back in the Middle Year Still others look on the ago centurier de de la fina de la fi ovilaration. The attitude of the scholar is determined in part by his field of research District of the second a strong supporter of the thesis that there was a Remainance and that it committed a deligite historical period. The economic huserian often prefers to use the real change as taking place around the eleventh ceptury with the resiral of trade and the er sh of totens. The devout Ca a a the other hand, interprets the period as being one of a decline beginning with the false teachings of William of Occam and ending in the horrible tragedy of Luther and Descrites Students of literature, sci-

ence philistophy, and pouties) theory have added their ideas to further confuse the concept of the Benamance, but although there are postucar lustomes apien y, little effort has been made to interpret the period from the stongpoint of the nature of the more, this in spite of the act that Burck hardt new in the peculiar position using tion to lady one of the principal cooses of the Johan Regard at

The purpose of this paper is to explore the nature of monarchies to the north and went of Italy paying principles attenuou to France. It is my hope to add support to Burckharde's thesis that the state of this period differed enough from what had gone before and what was to come after. to constitute a definite period as busing, but to deny that the Swan tenolar's hold a period the news of the

state as being a work of art, that is, "the frost of reflection and careful adaptation, has any validity for the monarcages of hat

In developing the concept of a Benaissance Monarchy for France we mits the

From J. Rassell Major, "The Representer Manarchy A Contribution to the Periodization of His view of the property of the property of the sudim and the himsen beginnings physical

constile changes that make such convenicute aways not one decirate, marks
of delineation for England, yet it seems
of marks to be accepted a act
consistent that there was a modered a act
consistent the minimal and Louis XIV,
between the Medicial, the Bonaisance,
and the Baroque. The system of government typified by Francis I had its forms
to period disting the reigns of Charles
VI and the Charles
VI and the Charles
VI and the reigns of the New IV and
Louis XIII

the of the three states less I repaire terate of this monarchy was its dynastic structure and motivation Foreign and domestic policy centered atoutte the question . Its. It is a common to the organ for states were enlarged. Warn of conquest A C N C KIT II SC BIT II heritance not natural boundaries. The t and and economic consulcations that treat a segar makes as a grant today and the problem 18 care a mid what a gave south a long a man man market OF HE HE GO IN INC. THE WIND PERSON OF THE REAL PROPERTY AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE PERSON OF produce the section for the a a sa fear la a new NIN is in I is n to a touch a deal of a late ctul the achievement of their distent buy it is it. Proper in a local factor one supressed type of macy, however it should be remembered that it was by marriage that the Flahsburys India to the course of the port of lands were more extensive than those if Name of over and occupies was to 4 th 1 1 1 4

Internal policy also depended largely on marriage. Nobica were sometimes able to amais erough and to become threats to the control of the large diam dukes brought together to many outlines and counties in France and the Empire that they poted a sestion problem to both the Vators and the Empire. The look of Fox Navarre works, exacts

in his sides of the Parences. Wher lam ets die kessise he if a er de house car and a power by dynamic real e mends, the kill street of profes by the expresson it a great form a ferware more was no hear result or the way ou back to the crown. It was by this process that the French monarchy added to much to at domain, and a large part of the internal policy of the Valors was designed to further the work of nature and chance. Louis XI married his crippled daughter, who could have no children, to the Duke of Orleans in onler to moure the eventual argumation of his lands, while two French langs sought and won the hand of Anne of Britany to keep her highly prized ducky united with the crown.

Since territorial accrandisement at the redden law, legality had to be attended to an unusual degree. The Benatistance petner has often been pictured as a highly individualistic rules with little respect for a save wit and power, but in fact even to diegot possibilitation for the aumority be wickled, and chewhere rulers were still law subject to challenge on this acc.

This stress on legitimaca and legality by ie la · M to their own rights, it involved a respect for the rights of their subjects. When a THE COMMENTS of the Comments ably conformed the privileges of individuals, · da stage and as a groups in his kingdran. When a princely or feudal domain fell to a king, he at once recognized the privileges in inhabitants So her a most him as a second Indeed, the people of the newly incorperated territores were as apt to occupy the it is the treat to the second he being Count of Provence or Duke of Britany as King of France

and privilege and the existence I strong provincial loyalues made no ossars a decentralised form of government. Not only

were the customs laws, and pen leges of each and every tempora or prog but the kings established one or law with in the larger provinces. The Harvengholds or courts of two ce are series to see of beaucial courts were organized in Burgondy, Languedoc, Britany, Provence, Dauphine, and elsewhere from which there Was in lapping, to any is for consist at Each The deciny a these is to open hiself OD 13W Cold on End Govern, the cold in the mid-enternth committee he elemdence that any universal principles of 'esson and mirrary were applied. The or its could and did render decisions against round officials and the crown itself authough the lung, at the fountier of punce and alter see a good and winal appearance. The emisence of these man product and a firm bundred odd local customs in France would be preserved unto the Revolution

the regal decentralization described above was parallelod by the decentrality non of administration. There was a governor in each of the dozen or more great province of France who, with at wathout port a start of appeal to a single go can powers. In addition, about two-th, ds of the premiers had reprise the assumblies that voted, and often collected taxes and attended so other administrative may ters. Beneath the provinces were the banwicks and reneschalties. These surisdictions were ruled by the build or veneschaft and a bost of lemer officials who, like the generally, were as apt to follow their own desires a to other the distance of the king.

Alongston by the sequence and he town. The segments were still a power in the sequence were still a power in the sequence and the sequence with contact with rown authority except to pay taxes. The towns were largely self-governing with their own elected ribrials, independent systems of taxation, and militar to defend their fortified walls. Thus, the land the kings were by their dynastic policies did not point in a consolidation of

priver to the hands of the ten to govern men as the hands of the are pursue of the ten be hand and the few are the

Closely associated with the decentralizafrom of the Renaissance Monarchy was the confusion of boundaries, privileges, rights, and jurisdictions only too apparent in every branch of the government. The sea or vided the only clearly defined hour, ry of the Renausance state Elsewhere me who was the base for more a spile worldent, or with strong claim to independence, such as the dueby of Beatllon, the principolicies of Months and, Bulache, and Salm, the republics of Mandare and Mulhouse, the countries of Sa tverden Venautin, and Sault to say nothing of the papal state of Avignon and the principality of Orange existed along the borders and even in the interior of the country. Many of time enclaves owned smaller enclaves in France, while France, in turn, was sometimes in possession of parashes surrounded by these ent aves. There is ample evidence to show that often neither the French king, by a range of a local mages atch could agree on what they owned. Foreigner held befs in France, and in the builtwith of Gex dier sought to vote in the elections to the Fstates General of 1789. Ecclestastical boundaries rurely corneided with those of the monant the discourse of many foreign archbishops and bishops so such as the First First foreign prelates were actually elected deputties to the Estates General in 1789.

More serious was the confusion about the boundaries of the adm marative subdivisions of the kingdom. Nearly every bailiwick had partialization over particles completely surrounded by neighboring bailiwicks. Trequently particles and even towns were claused by rival royal authorities. It was impressible for any magistrate to know exactly what territory be was to administer As are as 1789 there were no less than 1800 divided or contested particles.

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n France Many secondard harlawacks commer undependence trust the processal the waste would the next over t d. here area and to be of party there were quartely about die extent and name of the sales of claim and sugmentation The same inspenses its pier a suggestion what I make from him for differen in these of a neighbor Room dings some topes and only be meren ones of the the silf each the risk and count non was we great they may distract the for the de to gove on the awar sperate Doubeasence male wordy servine vincining are and the is first State a section and one as structure to it by after the Remotion that before of produce of the the most or slote ter the way or begreat to war to art with the government and the state of the se to the experfor any " say a lacture de so stain it he I also diversity as being in the of reflect and a transfer tion" has no validaty for the monarchies of

Why did the Renamance Monurchs of France and other countries permit so much he to some an interpret till a sil hey respect the privileges of their subgrant the answer have pursued his partly in the fact that the culers were prodacts of the climate of opinion of their age. They had been taught that a king was recontrolle for the well being if havis bjects, ant to deprive them of their long-tepogmixed privileges was a his one a grant, and tyranny was as hateful to their age as it had been in the medieval period. Nowhere does this fact show more clearly than in the decisions rendered by the king in council These invaluable records provide the most trustworthy evidence we have for the mot the internal of the kings and has print, advents, They prove to be we had even greater respect for process and traction than the regular law courts, and give direct cont add that to any theory the the Renatesance Monarcha sought to increase their authority at the expense of the legitimate

rights of their tubiech, Indeed, the most In sent the fig pure to be brough, betore the country, resulted from the enemin hypothese of many may a collectate in the name of the Log in the promption and priminges of individuals and ineporate groups by a most monthly the german it the reuncidors for rea the provinced to the parameters of the merical at it as others There was a corre be perabilaty but a rune would teck, say break the bonds of trace as not that for would be so selve glace us as to unterpret every questionable man prerogative in his new fayor but if there were such lungs, their weakness in character was checkmated by their WILL DOSS ID 18 35 K.

J RESSELL MAJOR

Is a her o general a mounted that the entry showers of states a remove on the would at the are hore he and six sounds contained a horal the growth of the state of the s and chatter of the safe and the say bloth of the new attracts in go is an illuminaof diese he is no texture out among against the people. The trusps in the peaceappeared and many of transc western months ou more than one and a half construit to the large with the capital a different of the state of the property is the property. complete with the countrie to a not a set the across appearance on a fee mexicon unique over he court propagation such a force could have so a tangent one topulathin if he can have the men it he man the recent a medium of the Russian on Hungary a to conside he to pay it large and mainte a near a no agree a ne he great mobile a this same in a fig. man. The Duke of Mactinationes came a sort in 1900 were growne it will be gone and he come have my cree . . . . ese had there been any need for to a places the sees of I was and America and 3000 me attamen on upped with arrelety and muruports. Those was a be tong held have captured the castles if a Vorumorenes and taken any single fown to the langdom in was cheaper and coner for a ruler to avoid offencing his subjects, and any sort of an

attack on the privileges of the nobibity of towns as a a hole was clearly through the

It is true that in time of war he Renais. sames Monar he concernes had armies if 4 tt ir 1000 men but best reaps were round and part in hour diagers and not the sade They are of the obesied the communities and not be a my As lar as the lasts less the best he brench Long and we for a se war day prove emergeneed by the more of the courte margins than by the troops of the enemy Some of there have write the ed a morney, ich but he as a work them maked by the mathe arrest with a said became ted to turn in he le is a hier or even the towns in he tier a exist he was

I the Rena wante Manarchy lacked the military power to suppress their subjects. they also lacked the bureaucracy to govera to m 1 1 have nese may 12 100 toyal officials to France, a nution of 15,000. 000 mlubitants and 480,000 square kilomerces, or one official for each 1,250 inhabitants and one for each 40 square kilometers. In 1934 these was one official for each marks on and 5: (or each 40) posset administer for hermore a war on possible to the Brancamir Monarch to grief if the entired primites or offices he powerse to be live place whereas the Walter in laterau tay is agreed with a typewriter, a mimeograph machine, the government printing office, and plind means of communication, the Benaissance Monarch had convia on teo names 4 scribes to record his orders. When he wanted to send a directive to the ball ffs. be had to have it copied by hand a hun dred times, for their time a himself has offs As a result souten from the section government were few and brief leaving local effects seen much to help of levices. The printing press was of course. known, but as late as 1986 it was used only to pone autostant adminances and not for groupal administrative correspond-

In the second prace, the financial difficulties that beset the Renaissance Monarchs led them to tall government posts, and more an office became venue its hooder could not normally be discharged withon financial comburament. He was left free to obey or disobey the few brief direcrives he received with latte akelihood that the king would ever know the difference. or that if he did, he could do anything

If, then, the Renaissance kings lacked a strong, loyal army and an adequate obed, can bureaucracy, what was the back of enonarchical power? The answer mems clear Kanga were obeyed only because. or rather when, the bulk of the population supported their came. The devotion of the French people to their king was described by a Venetian ambamador as "a sinique thing in the Christian world." The purpose of Machiavelli's The Prince was to teach how power could be wun and main tained and no one was more certain than the aethor that it was more important for a ruler of his day to satisfy the people than the man a second the people are the more powerful." To secure the support of the person the primer was adverse uppear to have all the traditional virtues, to tax lightly and when great leaded dependencies were won back to alter nother the laws not the taxes of the inhabitants. The more expenenced Commynes likewise ad vised kings to recute the affection of their subjects. Even Cardinal Richehen wester that Tove is the 1804 powerful motive which obliges one to obey.4

The Renaissance kings were supported In the same stage may not reasons. There were he so note a where a ter a one period of warfare marked by all the to a minimum pand morder on over the disciplined soldiers. There was no tofe, logical alternative to their rule, however rough town and noble might be opposed to further incremes in royal power They acturately sensed the feelings of the people and, as we have seen, were ever ready to support and protect their privateges even against their own officials. They kept in intimate contact with the people by wan1 H HISSELL MEANING

decine from one part of their kingdom to another ecosons every ne war our bartiers of right books, y andrew there was a stepree of mistage between he kings and the people that some on the sador, a republican Venice. In 1561 one of them attributed the devotion of the French people to the convex to "the familianty which exists between the monarch an his subjects all of whom he treats as his companions. No one is excluded from his presence Tacks is and people of lives condition date o poster he propose affect of the line in opter to see even frog that happens and a hear a but is said If the washes to speak of something important, he must have the parence. It is a sine where there are not a great many people and then speak in a low voice in order not so be heard. This great familiarity, it is true, makes the subjects insolent, but at the same time it makes them faithful and devoted to their lange." We would do well to parture the Rengimence Monarch as being the "fina gentleman" of France rather than the "Sun King." The removal of the court to Vermilles by Louis XIV was symbolic of the separation of the crown from the recple during his reign, and the return of the court to Paris an 1789 could have had equal empertures had an objer man been the hear if the care

A more rangible way of winning support also lay in the power of the kings. They controlled a vitil system of patronage Most of the highest offices of the church lay at their disposal and the wealthurst bishopeics and abbeys went to their faithful supportion. Government positions, one nt he most greative of a forms of employment during the period, found their way not the same hands, triets patents of pobility, and nearly every type of princege could be g an ear by a te monarch. He who served the crown lovally and ably could hope for untold riches. Montmorency Wotsey and Richelien were only the most famous of those who won wealth and power through tovalty Thousands of leases names could be added.

the law way of winning popular suppre was brough the use & representaare on utwar It may seem stringe that kings one staged and developed assemblies of he estate our same ne her the medieva not the Renammine Monarchs had the best of representative government, the qual have formen no resum to tear or pear a repleted at a strendings. They coveried done untrations as roots he has one see they countries and hear pure of and brown at mosts it a rue that to clear a green its someones box out a rest by the rest the a sincel also abe a la k a upon account As long to or the transfer he country he the courter or have realistic the one was a come ungerous ban the other and been not been a dealine pour recasions. The seattle estate weed to receipt ing a Min or Ages and the sigmentate big a sed attendance Phil 3 of t ance also not best ate t aughthum arge

I game are of here og national anem bues declined in mon countries in the has stope at the bust were received by the Renamence Monatche These lungs were been with problems as were not of IN crace the way to flat of person mere or the New World which led to a rapid rise to prove Higher orace, in turn, movementated higher cases and the way of the Pie we and great charge was the first sens the a Souther on his near every little year smooth had to sea with a substitute of a commenty The a ray had no be the bureaucracy one rice with the case with the ness singlethen being to hope was to bein the support of the people for whatever acoust they determ ted to take. This they could heat do by summoning the deputies of the people and explaining to them their proper and needs I was not often that the butgher from the town or the versioneus from the mare to between sufficient coure to sesse if or ten in these occasions. and the a P furtient Figure General had committed use to the genred course. the king had a powerful propaganda weapon the wild down that he had went the senction of the people in the ordennance he ssued and or our the in he had valuable agents who expenses the roval was to their consumers when they returned to the lames

The kings had no feat it are are mb ice of the estates here so year in mine were genetary not a de un day as independent pour I reed he me as ing any ment persons put for the facking america was has a record to assemblies used a nine or rive proper by enabling them to extend their influence into helds of activity ordenzily denied to them. This amprode is illustrated by Philippe de Commynes when, in writing of a proposed invasions of the comment in 1474 by England, he said "But things move very slowly there because the king cannot undertake such work without asarmbling his purlament, which is like our three estates, and, consisting of sober and prome men, is very serviceable and a great strengthening ( ) capity shows unseestates are assembled, he declares his intention and asks his subjects for an aid."

To Communes the English Perlament did not decreme the power of the lang by preventing him from leviong on old with out consent. Rather Parhament increased his power by making it possible for himlegally to obtain money beyond his ordinary revenue. In the tasse sport Henry VIII declared to the Commons in 1543. "We at no time stand so highly in our estate royal as in time of Parliament, wherein we as bead and you as members are complianed and knis together in one body politic

Henry III of France stated that "bood ing the estates is a means ... to reaffirm the legiomate authority of the suvereign rather than to disturb or diminush it." lean Bodin wrote: "We conclude, therefore, that the sovereignty of the monarch is perther altered not diminished by the presence of the estates. On the contrary, his majesty is much greater and more

illustraces seeing his people acknowledge lum as their sovereign."

Statements such as these could be multiplied without end, and nearly all the Renassaute Minarchi pui theory into practice by emiliary room and representative state. supons as a recans of winning popular support for their progrem in every country from Spain to Sweden rulers turned to the in one at a months for agor tional mass, and in England, Denmark, and Sweden the lange successfully used their estates or Parsaments to mandace Protestantism In the Empire, Scotland, the Low Countries, and France the monarcha also went to the estates to solve the religious problem, but with less success. Civit wars broke out, and it was only than that the theory began to develop that the repretest in the same too had in a authority as inrate from the crown It was only than that the kings began to dread the meetings of the estates

I have described the Bensusance Monarchy as being a decentralized state with confused boundaries and paradictions, but montrated by the forces of dynamicism. legality, and quadition. In strongth lay not in the rise or loyalty of its army or bureaugeacy, but rather in the support it received from the people. It remains to be shown that the usage of this state differed enough from what has gone before and what was to come after to give support to the thesis the the Benzissance constitutes

a separate period in history

The medieval state had also been dymestic tails on accepts a a or fused. I had relied on popular support, but at nevertheless differed from that of the Renausance Medieval decentralization was derived largely from the activities of the great feudal publics and their vassau. Renassessing decentralization was essentially bureaucratic. Thus in the Middle Ages the duchy of Burgundy was governed by her duke, at the Beransance it was tuled by a royal governor and subordinate officiate: there were several types of sovereign courts to administer justice and provincial estates

to pegatime with the crown. It was not the tridividual rights of the Duke of Burgundy that were stressed in regard to the crown, but rather the collective privileges of the inhabitants of the duchy

A combination of time and degree also separates the medieval from the Renaissance. The thirteenth-century monarcha had been strong, those of the fourteenth and early lifteenth centuries were weak, but the kings of he are cereb century were again men of ability A Henry VI provides a break to the near to ween Landed I and Henry VIII. Furthermore, the Repassunce Monarchs were able to do bigger things. The medieval king belowd open trade in the Mediterraneun; the Renatisance king aided in the discovery of the water route to India and the New World. The medieval king encouraged an economic revival characterized by merchant and craft guilds, the Renamence king sparked a commercial and industrial revolution. The former exercised a minor influence in gry and letters, the latter were the greatest pateurs of their age

The break between the Renamance Monarchy and that of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is more pronounced. Dynastic posities did not compictely disappear, but national and econame considerations became more important. Armies became larger and the longs won effective control over them. Commanders in the wars of Louis XIV did not change sides at will as they had done dur ing the Thirty Years War. The bureaucvalues became larger and more efficient. The intendant of Louis XIV and the care fully trained officials of the Great Elector of brancer was well into or mest examples of what was a general European. phenomenon. The popular-consultative as-

perry of the Renaissance Monarchy were abordered have crased to wander from place to pure but preferred to remain in me or two favor to poulets Elaborate court etaquette shut them id town all but their most tax mee subsects. The final year uplaced the representative amenably as the means to copy of public opinion In is no coincidence that the reign of Louis, XIII saw the last meeting of the Estates. Ceneral are che lle sution and he appea ance of a government controlled newspayer and all the in annual news plurnal. Conducty be takens and ordered concontents of the seven reach an arr with the preference for the ample over he comment permented grace die to lumpian decisions are there deless to the name of the universal principles of justice rather han being based on customs at the The decentrated engineering in turbers and a graph we care or sets of the Remark tance Meanthy became abhorient and officials movies waight to weld here into the capaciton we refer basic like new a prese was clearer expressed by a monster of Planty IV of Space where he the Hig mer days and and the carbrings and Ampers in to make a street, hand have be water I mean he leat was Majore than on on asters with the time of King of distinguish King of Alas to King (Vincture and Citar of for time but that that majesty should and the plan with airful and secret and pales at the resource of the action of white Name is not imposed, to die families and any of Castles without any difference." When a royal advince could make the statement the wife had a meed bet me the fact if reflexions and att at adaptation." Our modern age had finally

# POLLARD'S "NEW MONARCHY": THE NEGATION OF ORTHODOXY

J. R. HEXTER

Professor Menter was born in 9.0 He took a PND or Harvard during the Great Assistance in a recomb for assistance to the indicate of the recomb for the second of the secon

o allay any perputate that may have assured the feater to a basis tend ing of the title of this exist than it is to print out that can the same for exin Mason Hours but quite Parties of All sector thatters consequents and not beoperative signs are the amount make in this example before large to be in all at deserves to figure a first to feel to a few super was the acres who er they make the securety that he at excited the part is and, in the vase while thus about a rather shirts be in called facines to Materia its on The book was sub-sied se built a er urv age in 1907, and its author was Protessor. A. F Pollard

Pellard was a great academic statement are an academic who many he will not seem to the many the will not seem to the many academic to the horizons of his day on he, and no other left as a legacy so many active and lively institutions for the advancement of historical knowledge. Indeed, if the creation and

( salesing of much past tations is the best Children C. II do note the profession of the 15 It is from the interpretation of a state of the state of A arrest alleger of the marks and most that it is a deal got by sen of printing of the fig. to the fire and man to be supplied to the superior secured the sine of a sine of the house and receive their and a separate for the first to trace a great tot be sent at the versity of London and what he had envisioned he had the good fortune, the vigor, the courage and the tenscity to ming he herog long before is a tel The I morteal Association, the journal Pristory, the particle and approximateseases and the Bulletin of that Institute are more than inert monuments to Polland's energy and effectiveness, and they do more than serve as passive messorials of their spigutupl factors Radies have no on her many by carrying on in their independent existences the work he had nearest his heart.

Professor Potterd was also a notable scholar. There are not many historical

From J. H. Hexay, Respiratols in History, New Vistor on History and Society in Early Modern Enrape (New York and London 1961), pp. 26-44 Reputated by permasion of Northwestern University Press and Longouses, Green and Company Ltd.

surveys of which, fifty years after their particularity on the set to the action the things available. But one can say just that of Pallad's volume on the history of cland from 1547 in 1603. And of course his biographies of Henry VIII. Connect and Wolsey semain without year.

Factors by Modern History was no such per dem performance, and certainly Porand would not have claimed that it was so. Why then, a render might properly ask, should be have inflicted on him a king Compared to the a book or liets more than had a century ago, a book which, although plante year that the strong a little be described as a classic of lustory? One might unawer that, classic or not, Factors in Modern History is still quite a live book. In America within the past year (that been freed from Jarval compension between baid covers and metamorphosed, insided aportsconsed, into a paper-back. Moreover, to st has been told me, generations of English schoomasters have used Factors to Modern Hatory to introduce disth formers to the anidy of history above the merely infuntile . It has thus become a bit of standard equipment for the inclusion rises of the in some physics.

Yet even were it less gorgeously covered with budges of success, the book would warrant a crammation a like purpose of this study Factors in Madern Phintery has a special virtue which results from the quality of A. F. Pollard's sound. It was a man arrang and succeed as no his partial and a second and arranged as a success of the second and arranged price of a work of break presently that mind price of a work of break presently that mind price of a work of break presently that mind price of a work of break presently that mind price of a work of break presently that mind price of a work of break presently that mind price of a work of break presently that mind price of a work of break presently that mind price of a work of break presently that mind price of a work of break presently that mind price of a work of break presently that mind price of a work of break presently that mind price of a work of break presently that mind presently

tury and on that particularly difficult per runt the six cur h car or. One would have said the Tudor period, were it not that in this book Polisid casts his glance, somewhat casually and disaly one must confess, at continental Europe. Factors in Modern History, therefore, provides us with a sort of color chart. Contrasting it with the views a present day be a more on the state with and seventeenth century, we become awate of some of the changes that have taken place in our understanding of history in

Before we make such a contrast, however, we ought to render to Pollard the homage that is his due for the assault he the is up brown to desire with day 1) was a day - before Armageddian -when I'm a loca Palamentary dementals a fine to apply the new tells. posed excellences were frequently and hed to certain superior actional train, a at its printing the second he kind of both and a king that produces of a notice etters we east pompour and siller -on the role of race in English history, Potland prought a splendid destruction. And of history writing that praised a mythical Lancastrian constitution because at was mounting to have at an end towards latera the an appearant the la Jon became they were named to have in its aid the growth of Parliament, be made about work. If it did not make it anpossible for historiens in talk such nonsense - nothing ments to prevent a really determined haterian from talking comserver to be up to a finisher en Museum Harr with more a true 1 and demanded of the historian a more replied price a rest in any more For his holocause of historical adole me are all stul siebnes in A. F. Polland.

prant we may a to be the less congenial, it is not a more and the past mathematics of home a mode has a mode had a release of the man or any we not was beliefle to man or may we not was beliefle to man or may we had a mode the art of history. A certain dialectic requires us to magnetic or mother to perhall a dentroy the work of our produces or in order to work of our produces or in order to work of our produces or in order to the proper exercise of our or that we add to, refine, reconstruct and sometimes priests.

what we have inherited from ear or has toward. The wind show her not dimens to see admit the work of towards a others who we work to do to take has also also what we work to do to take has also also.

Ottore v he taiton is mighten becopy who ! P and deemed most important are teve les is the headings of the early chaptern discould had not the depart of the Middle Class," "The New Monarchy," "Henry the Eighth and the Reformation," "Partiament," and "The Social Route A was a trada I would be a character to in a 14 transpers of any first transport to the action con tanger as these caste as res specification of the first temporal and the specification of the specifi anteredated, but not wholly interdependent, factors to consider - the emergence of the way a man at the company of the middle class. Having isolated these two factors in his fine two chapters, in the remaining chapters Pollard describes their impact on the fabric of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century society.

Thus, the chapter on "The New Monarchy" demonstrates the triumphant politic a combination of the outside of mathe Contract of the Contract of to gate I cam Il home up atte to a polyment drops to the afternoon turn the concurrent aims and airdinations of the national sovereign and of the middle class amb me . he at England's links with Rome and to enhance the importance of the House of Commons. And so on. The essence of the matter is that the middle class and the national state destroyed the dominance of the Catholic Church and few arm which a constraint of the Marie Area The in the securior of these are the re- or of ever beauty raded and material in he in

I day years a er on purious in all Facrose on Modern Helms, en historians who delers but es that a new Western Whing the medical class men of the mens and of trade came to exercise a popular boxb the economic and the purious, phere

that surpassed and supposted that of the landed aristocracy Few also would teny that in that world a passionate identification with the national state superseded on identification with the universal Church es the center of men's ultimate loyalties. The doubte that Pollard's arguments might encounter inday would not be directed to word these nee facts, but morand his chronology. Was the middle class quite so important, quite so matterful, in the rixteenth century, as Posted thought it was? Was the national state quite so predominant ab power, quite so pre-eminent among the loyalties of men, in the statementh controls, to Pollard supposed? To both these quertions the answer of most present-day histenum prohably would be "No."

to the fir present the question of the

middle class, it is unnecessary to spend truck time here. . It may be worth cornogning here, however, that some of the methods by which historians have tried to prove the departments of men of the town and trade in sixteenth-century England and sixtnepth-century Europe have been a trifle poculiar For example a gauge which measures the power of a class by the number of its members who bought their way out of it the in to be such and it be speed with which they did so, is a very ambiguities again a new indexes and the data rise in perspect oil the great line is interpretation. Although a suppleton that the middle class was not rising in the six teenth century to quite the way formerly alleged has taken hold among professional specialists, it has scarcely corrupted the sweet and annount minds of the writers of textbooks, in whose works that cass conthrees so esteend for six centuries or so in a smooth Podardian way But in matters of this nort a lag of three or four decades is ro be expected among the writers of history to a just and me hammans are negliging f

be much of the national state will probably prove even more durable than the much of the middle class.

As to the role Ponard ascribed to the

national state in the systemsh century a role in which he imputed pan-European Bispor one can but fee that here be was the circum of marbronism mored by an insular myopta prevalent in his day. It is the myopia most notoriously advertised to the tiresome old story about the English newspaper headling, "Fog Over Channel. Continent Isolated." As a consequence of focusing his attention on England, and of go westlizing for Europe from what he saw in buglant. Popularly and to be positical nation in the stateenth century a dynamic force as face and ideal that it had scarcely required in most of Europe until the nineteenth century Even beyond that, be may well have exaggerated the national element an England tuelf II we look at the British beer from the continent rather than the other way about, we may be inclined to more many cather than maximize the role of nationality. Should we emphasize nationality, for example, as Pollard does, in accounting for the Protestant Reformation att I want also Germany Ir practical effect the religious conflict in Cormany was settled to 1555 by leaving the determination of the religion of their own principals ties in the hands of scours of atterergn einceaugh of the Holy Roman Empire About this settlement there was nothing partonal. Noting that from 1530 to 1504 Legland passed from Roman Catholician to English Catholicism to moderate Protestantism, to racked Protestantism, to Roman Cachatteam, and back to moderate Protestantism again, a German observer might care his in a newson's successful these frequent shifts in the religion of England took place at the command of the current sovereign, our German friend might the partie to concluding the month are were pretty much the way they were at home, that the will of the prince had a green from to an array him in good of Lie , on, and that nationality had pre-Cirius are to de apply it

In general, it would seem that at various times and in various regions of Europe in the stateenth currary the sense of belong-

ing to a nation was an element of various intensity that the people who is presentday argum topic in positions of the some making that undertal sentiment and decount and exploited it as they took and account and explained other kinds of sense ment when such exploration was fear ble but that much people were themse ves carely deprenden by passonal fee og the the rate of rational interest in the service officentury Professor Gerrett Mattingly, whose vast but lightly-worn learning and unfail ingly shrewd judgment have earned for his opinions a universal respect, says

I SI RELIER

National interest was still too vague a concept to guide it even to even the process a the monarchies. When the spokesmen for the IIV no 1 area vo h is story colored met to marry its openhale the he true makes to adopt their in this an he is I affect when an indicate tent per exist Par is his granish out the art I no thewar as we the Channe as at come take parties as he and graph are by bodes as its consumer. The way appre when he with contain these for the secret fairest the time and what the minute the entire is to have the le as a a later of the national interior of their to with way are in one Mand the chied est tale trade the mark all over \$ 315 and the transport of the property of the section and he the my time as the preste and elevel whoped there is a some o unit to the his win the all in of princes. Hendistance Diplomacy p.

In factoress to Polland, one must add that Look is not some of her accounts him have insurated an exception to Mar-.FI 4 IC

historic medicating his emphasis in hathe are and the man to be becomens a see at a sent with focus on Haveres Hereign might wan to strew with aspects of her wan them from the interes b to the seventeen h century two Poland pand bearing the Certain's they would say a great deal move about the Price Rey > hitten the granual but amo atively speetactuar increase in the dearness of things that resulted from the augmentation of Europe's supply of precious metais in the sixteenth century. To the Impact of the shift in price structure on the economy of the Western world, and no is soon from ture, Pollard devoces scarcely a paragraph, whereas that ahas has became the father work on which many present-day historians hang her at any if it morely and weight to Europe from about 1500 to 1650 It is not how wer quie sare that his heen all pure gain. There is a growing suspicion. that when rot become a first has not less a bit, it will be discovered that the importance recently ascribed to the influx of gold and salver from America has been some what committee

With respect to another aminuon in Factors on Modern History there would be went may close to unanimity among pres ent-day hystorians. In a book devoted to the discovery of the roots of modernity in the stateenth and seventeenth centuries they would visa be the names of Copernits kine (i and I gens at We am a beauty to be during la see Bobert Book and as New or - and in 1 many by a me were beautiful there name is total pain a latter with the east a lease have been more later. cal study during the past fifty yours. The branch of that study called the hustory of ideas and the brane of his brind and the book of a cold land burning may be since 147. This mayore development of knowledge has left no doubt that the Scientific Revolution with a decisive turning point in the history of Western them, he possibly the decisive turning point in the best on a the sman many Bistort and technico and less with Properly than or through the exempt of he weternto combing into the medical process total would burn the part of that a way were other in positive the most of those historians would probably be to action to asir be modernity to parter the century men, whose world was sol the cored becan beat agang cosmos that medieval schoolmen bad constructed by blesseng empoure Austorie and Peoleras and ost the public te mouhan in univene that hepter Games, and Newton

built. And this is but to say that one matter, which seemed fairly settled in the 1900s, has since become quite unsettled the matter of periods in history of how best to divide into manageable segments the onward flow of events in time Pollard was reasonably confident that it made sense to place the divate between medieval and modern history in the stateenth century Thoms continue a new his asset of the ect ing this particular line of division merge with yet graves doubts about the actuality and even the convenience, of the very conwater medical is modern. It may be and it will not be but by the list inter-out a said wanty number of the beginning M & MIN AT

It has a lifty years, busen aux ave we only broadened our undergranding of the stateenth century, they have also relined is made it more precise. To describe what her taken place to the refining of our historical analysis is not easy, since it has been a bi by-bit process, whose general purpore has not attracted much attention the free chest engage in the it too ax perstion agents a little shaky at this note: it as be agree it ears some heappy made in the well-made, foundations, In brief, it seems to me that the historical researches of the last five decades have revenled the automotive century in be an ent during which the lines of class interest and national interest were traversed and frequently - perhaps more (requently than not -- dominated by other lines of allegiance and action. We may best envisage these other lines as polar patrs, pulling men in apposite directions and therefore creating termount. These termions confronted stateenth-century men with the multitude of particular decisions that they had in make

Two of the polar pairs - Catholic-Prusestant and Church-State - have long been in use by historians. Poliard deals with them. He more or less identifies Catholic with Church and Protestant with State. Then in accord with his conception of the prime factors in modern history - he susmilates Catholic and Church to this

Pollard's New Monarchy"

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In, the issue is Elitabeth I there may be a closer correspondence than most haterians have been

willing to grant.

versal fendal medieval on the one hand. Protestint and Sea e to national middleclass-moders on the other. This propensity, strong in Poilard and his contemporaries and still strong today, seems to mark the triumph of a desire for simple order over a desire to lice he fairs have be sween hi century Protestantiam, especially in its & aprepist version was not marked in it class. It attracted Norfolk and Gesterland squires and the Western Lightspace as preventul y as it do hangiers a midur A mater norm and Laurette at And it was he "internationalism" of the Calvanits - their readiness to render material aid and undergo bodily danger to render emistance to the persecuted Saints in foreign landsthat prevented the Papal counter-offensive from destroying Protestantium. The conye top week Care was top the develuped with respect to the relation of blace t Church received is most ear tent expressure when the Scottish extruster, Andrew Melvilla, plucked that would-be divine-right monarch James VI of Scotland by the sleeve, called him "God's silly vessel," and interthed him that pulsough lames was his if he it not exist it was King of the Kingdom of the Chutch, "whose subject King James VI is, and of whose Kingdom not a King . . . nor a head but a member " And Melville adda that the minister "whom Christ has called and commanded to watch over His church have sufficient power . . . of Him so to do . . the which no Christian prince should control or discharge." To the convice. Called the her more Carrier sept. not a promise of pie in the sky but a call to present action. To many a European print r was a clear an inview a ger Until we greep that the claims of I' shy tery were not national or modile-class, that they were quite as universal, quite as ra bolic, and, in that dubious sense, quate as medieval, as the claims of the Papacy. we shall I undersion the ments of the later abareath century But then the taxoncerny that completely subsumes Catholic under medieval and feudal as small perm-

are fir is a namewhat arbitrary way to conserv a fact which floor which aimore weeks concerns ago in the great cities of imports to me and which today errors a security and right to the great estimate of the great estimates of industrial America.

1 IF PERFE

The mist of exceptiblentury history don't be paid his years then, has not sustaines I saids desistant to again ate to test attention and the de extrap from the ver as more and there and to make the m is episten ment though up by the nee of the mande were and of national and to his Mans and menter a more superior at I were during the pass bit years listerence it at our a pects the statement entire as we have never! have tel attreeted to be - the pe at they bear on Care thereast and (3 ch hate Am , then are pown harder and law cat to become to a man Bearpe of legitimacs records and inthat a steep less a group in the hi court's source a more han the Carb is Problems permits will not their hit the pattern og it history hat makes the sak trenth century the great of at between ter a micros mor as on the me hand and make a would make a the or see the land we come as the way Bigg of same of the the or of the the of the way or at he de more etc !- we cal and then I be Call to govern: please to a gettine of the state of the extremely come the Cartes properly city both Labolic and Protected came to present he cite seeing, and Got, on truth, necessary by an oneman of man. The against beet be trade asc and he objecting you in his one called in another ting wa are in the opprising position. The princip was one of mornal excusion raders of massal extermin ion It we said this point of view in ream n og the other printes we have mentioner bewater we could progen. for the Co hour Protestan pair is ex enthe awpen of it about one Athrases between the opposed members of each of

the other pairs there is tension, the issue is moved either-on, it is always more-or-less. With respect to the interest of town and himself of the real and country, the question in the sincernib certury in never how one can unmidate the other it is how to strike a viable harance between them, how under varying conditions as work out ever them the terms of adjustment and reconcilisation.

Failure to keep this point in mind can be fatal to our understanding of the nixteenth century, and nowhere more so than in graping the relationship between Roalportrit, or posts. . . . m an . . . man We are likely - , i'm a house the discrepancy between the simcenth-century materials profession of concern for the rightful public order of Christendom and his complete opportunism in practice and to write off the profession as a cyntonbit of fraudulence. By pa is of reason we then membe the statements it will advocarry of legulary in the inter a a a 4 his pa reason and a his is more likely that the major statesmen of the age - Gutuners and Perronet. Hobertet and I am to be and the me even Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell were both political realists and men concerned with legitimacy. The trouble was that, in the sphere of relations among rulers, the medieval structure of antifutions was wholly shartered and afforded no foothold for aspirations soward a legitimate thiles to be copy a man to be a second talk, and even believe, the old picties; but they acted perforce, like a gang of disingreen cannibals. Within the realm, however where much of the framework of inremain a relatively into the gas be a at a man or are practice be-The Transfer of process to the 2h to do and what they felt it necessary and de-4 by who This place a concern for legitimacy had some thing substantial to have on to. If that is so, I leven te que como no no m centrous of people like Henry VIII and

Among the polarities mentioned earlier there are two that may be worth a ditle further discussion, because it seems likely that in the near future a good deal of the historical writing on the nateenth century will focus on them, or at least it seems describe that such writing should. They are dynasty-region and court-country. We have already watched Garrets Martingly make short work of the illusion that national interest was the guiding star on which sinceenth-century monarchs set the course of their policy But if not on national interest, on what did they set their course? Professor Mainingly tays,

The most lenting year ough for power variant of district that is national, openitation. Die is a fixed on the Duchy of Milan is a fixed on the properties of either would factore the apparent of the straint with all of the apparent of the straint with a straint with a straint of the straint with a straint with a straint of the straint with a straint

What counted most in high positive in I was not be became a to be made more than the pass the libraries of Tudor, and Variat, and Hapiburg; and made and the property of the most of the m

As the pole opposite to the dynasty was not a safe for much is read har region may be pole as not easy. The word "region" may be a safe for a safe for a safe for a safe for easy ince in English to the more satisfactory but not perfect French word, pays. In the sonse

in entired here France England, and posthe Spar were possible in Commany or Italy And, a though they were parts at the pays do France, Bestiany, Languedoc. and Burgundy were also peys. Aragon was a pass, and so were the parts of Vagon valvo Catalonia and Valencia, In the arts half of the sixteenth century the Netherlands were one pays comprised of about a sleven pays. Ireland was a pays, and so was Water, and so, possibly, was the region that Englishmen simply called the North; but S wa pro Water a second What here constituted a pays, or, understood simply as a transaction of the work a region? there a roys or servin was a to recey whose peradicary and of a seistance of identification with that territory and with each other, sufficiently agong to make it regularly necessary for politicians to take that sent ment into account in their political Jestiscotts The note a compregnossment was always had segional Liberties, charters, factor we were ved a report a vita-They sten had special regional post icalmeans to a crassial amp do some highly offective foot-dragging when nuitic policy ran overtauch against the regional interest. It was not the nation that set imits to the pursuit of dynastic policy to be dealer to the man the page of regime. What the remain might be, if the tension between dynasty and region can In his dealings with the Nicherlands.

The court-country polarity is more difficult to define than the dynasty region pofur thecause in historical fact the boundary between court and country is far less. suntinct than the one between dynasty and minute or a policy to the cold state over the arm the attreems century was precisely the one who prevented a sharp delignation of time lintanda or from all a dare who avoided the dangers inherent in the holetion of court from country. In England, for example, the grooms of the chamber and gentlements waiting were wholly court, the great officers of state only slightly ess so. En a Lieumnants, un the Muer

hand were between and between, ball court had country and the lakes of the george were after the mount country. By nightly speaking, the cityet was at mice a war to if parronage a focus of power 4 was of the and a repeate try of methods have a resident's at the center of which stead from the also strait or an bur the ving breathing to one C matry was the more and a set it interests incerns and half is it in a ghr and at top that were executable local an character, as hough totaen ones intensity and concerns much by manual in attends all the qualities in a calm flews b mothe interna development of temperarstates that raying a referring shes fully into accurate the accuracy polacity has one been under way for more than a decasto or so, Importally it is taken into account in Sir John Neale's great work to be Elizabethan to diaments and to the art sections of W. im Dunham s. recent sees a dithe for dire usner, expandly to Trevoe sepers The course A further arrentation of research to the list countries try a r w might a mer and fast to the team history of material bases dury govern came and month was terms on the the object that all a same

So far a his rate of which I examithe triangle of the part for the party of the party that was if will write in house you make a of turns or mind on he ( the an tradition). we ought to end up by dealing with the spirit but pronouncements about the spirit of one's own day, or even of an earlier day, with respect to almost anything are tricky affairs. In this area, above all, each came is kels to a muse he doe of the age with the early of his every product and make a sessions. Neverthelies, the court of the age

I am age - does spran I so many mouth. The voice of finance age containly spoke from his. Notions, so much in the six at a posticular time that the people of that time war niv are aware if them were leave should out in the marks in the the age there people write The assumpt me the stans make permease their work by commonning the way dies order their data

and the importance they attribe to the various at a vidil events that come unner their convidenmen. At the moment we are not concerned with "inexplicit approptions," dear to the bearts a practioners of the sociology of knowledge Fir Pourd make if least the assumption will be be explicitness the bears could desire. He does to in such statements as: There have been clamers socion in her, sutward manifestaour The Lunch Revisation is a more on hin, where he if them had the transthere from make as a mode is ensure But even the brench her last was a summation of causes which had been working for ages. Even here it is true to my that Natura wifed forst per solmon." Nature does nothing by leaps (Factors in Modern History, p. 33) Or aguin

Whatever faction we take in the making of that hange you do be a few born rating

they have their roots stretching fat back ght the pay amo make has my tought begrowth and decay are silent gradual, almost entweeterble. The demants events which can or everythear and or or in how caste the end of an in a distance me are the the way open which made the aprilers breathers in the present an wealth There I wanted to be a series of breast the with home with a copy a smap liter times on he makers of the history of the world shiel p 5

Present's Laten tag - Notions wikil facit yer saltum - is a dead givenway It dates Import to Modern History very utily as the intellectual eministion of a period when the idea of progress and, indeed, the whole domain of social thought in general had taken on the culor and time of Darwinson. It comes eather ban be rine or c of these doubts always are a reduce to the manner turners to in the sph re if age it havere which were engineered by he cach of conclus If I have not got mutation theory. a remed up and I in his have by game today was if be also, to success. that organa nature does nothing upomant in the way of change except to amps But for historians of an era precuminities to

had a higher to see a name of a line process of gradual, even glarnal, change that they believe the art of sold of at cress on pursue son of the event ways which Pollers add to experience and a godiend Consider Pullard's own procedure. As we have seen, he sejects as the cruciafactors in modern history the advent of the middle class and nationalism. Now the muddle class and major a singup not exisan Europe in the ten h cop ary They may perhaps be dispressed to the more than the century; they grown undersable accordancy only in the nineteenth century. Since we start with the myddle class and nationa ism at low ebb, and, about six bundled years later, end up with them at high flood, what more natural for a historian communed to evolutionary graduation than to connect the starting point and the end point on his time scale in the simplest way possible by an ascending straight time. Poilard and his contemporaries did the natural thing. they drew that straight line. And ever since in the pages of our history textbooks, year of the court of the middle class" contacy after century have totled neadily upward along it

I for he assist on these need at the dopes of the curves of ascent of the middle class and of notionalism during more than balf a muse moun were strought the give the new company of the our v a sward over their whole course. To werk ap comons me to be roughly enuging the slope of an at the use a to pile upto dan the n generally of the inspection to a market torian November and one set owner that his views involved any empirical problent a measure near that street in all his is wholly a priori, a purely emagenary construction that does not set his ities. facts in order but altogether encopes and wars above their dressly restrictions. It is the product not of historical investigations but of the spirit of Polard's age, the age of historical Darwinson.

If we give serious consideration to those varied polaricaes meanance above our very

image of the historical process will differ drastically from Pollard's. The sense of inevitable, straight-line trends, so strong in him, diminishes. The sense of the catascouplie, which Pollard minimizes, increases. For a while at the turn of the blueenth century, the tensions among various poles stand in rough and complex balance, and the adjustments necessary to maintain a workable equilibrium are relatively small Then a couple of wholly unpredictable things happen. Luther successfully dehes the Pope, the conquinadors discover the precious metal hoards and mines of America. Within a few decades these events dentically augment the tensions in the system. The areas in which men can get along on the more-ne-less type of decision shonk. The areas in which they have to face either-or decisions expand. As such decidens increase in number, they also increase in importance; both what decisions will have to be made next, and what their proximate consequences will be become increasingly hard for contemporaries to predict, and the atream of happenings flows rice with glacial majesty but with devastating violence.

The cutastrophic character of history at times of crines is reflected in the kind of history writing that can deal with such times. Analytical history, the sort of history that Poliard wrote in Factors, and the sort that has become increasingly popular in scadentic circles since, rups into topuble amid the convulsions of a world in upheaval. It often presends that they really weren't convulatoria, or that they really didn't matter. But, of course, they really were convaisions, and they really did matter. At this point, the narrative historian must take over from the analytical historista for it is his art not to demonstrate that the course of events was inevitable, but, in the misst of mounting uncertainness. to render the decisions men made intelligible.

And here, in the past fifty years, our movement has not been progressively forward, or even, crabbile, adeways, but

simply backward. Living in the tradition of both Macaulay and Ranke, A. F. Pollard did not need to be told that history is an intricate sequence of the acts of men in time, and that ultimately, to do justice to that sequence, one needs to tell a story. That his own volume in the Political History of England series, written in 1910, remains even now the best angle treatment of the eta it covers sufficiently testifies to Potent & mastery of narrative. Today, however orthodox academic historians tend to put story-telling under a ban. To tell a story well is to commit the scandalous un of being popular if one is not an academic. or of being a comunic historian if one is an academic. Purting story-telling under a ban does not, of course, make it possible to traverse the period between my, Luther's breach with Rome and the Edict of Nannes without talling a story. It does, however, make it possible for some academic historian to tell such moties incompetently while amughy regarding their ineputude as an infallible mark of redemptive merit, of their superiority to those damned histogram who tell their stories well.

Having deals with an explicit assumption that colored Pollard's view of what happened in modern history, we may conclude this every with a brief examination of one of his tacit or inexplicit assumptions. This assumption is still current among many historians, and in all likelihood it remains tacir. I cospect because historians are not aware that they are making it. Since the assumption is not directly expressed, it is eather deboult to find the right words to describe it. The assumption of the conservation of historical energy is reusenably sansfactory, although the wages-fund theory of the historical process, or the teeter totter or seesaw the TV, raight do just as well. The model in this issuance, one may guess was taken from Newtonian physics rather than from Darwinson names history. Stated rather abstractive the idea is that in a given society the energy expended on a single pair of polar elements is fined, so that any flow of social energy in

the disease of one such pole can only take place by way of subtraction from the flow of energy to the opposite pole. So abseractly stated, the alea, I four, may seem trivial, or unintelligible, or both Let us try to make it a line more concrete. Earlier we mentioned secular and regious as polar pher me a in so doing, we a med to point up the contrast between especialists and actions directed toward this workly and those directed toward other working goals. Granted that in particular cases it is not always possible to make a clear-cut distinction, still, to suggest an extreme instance, it is not too hard to decide toward which pole the lettful glutton tends, and toward which the marrys, soward which Alexander VI and soward which Savonarola Now, on the assumption of the conservation of historical energy, if in a society there is an increase of activity in the direction of the secular pole, there must be a corresponding docrease of energy in the direction of the religious pole. Moreover and therefore, for the histories who makes the unsumption, the increase or the secular direction is itself sufficient evidence of the decrease in the religious direction. Although this corollary to the assumption of the conservation of historical energy is an intellectual trap of the most lethal sort, I fear that the abstractness of my exposition still conceals the clear, present, and practical danger which I have been trying to reveal. Perhaps the surem, if not the kindest, way to esvent the danger of this trop is to show what happens when someone falls into it.

In Factors in Modern History, A. F. Polland falls into it. Throughout his book, but openially in the enapter on Heavy the Eighth and the Relormation," Polland makes a very good case for the intensibleation of this world intensity the intensible that world intensity in the intensible that world intensity in the evidence supposing his case. Consider the beast of Enzabethan statesmen—a strangery securiar beast in view of the Christian tradition in such matters—that they intended to punish no one for his religious beliefs. Consider the French

politiques.— French Catholics, who yet preferred the hope of this worldly peace, hold our by the Edict of Nantes, to their Christian duty to extirpate heresy. Consider even Philip of Spain, who, long after the Pope had excomminicated the English Jezzbel, was still ready to negotiate for a peaceful suttlement of his differences with her.

The evidence, then, strongly indicates that many siggeouth-century men aimed at, and even openly avoved, secular goals which almost all men of the thirteenth century would have rejected with an outward show of horser and, quite possibly, with real inward loarbing. These being the facre about this-worldliness, the socular in the sixteenth century, what inferences about other-worldliness, about the religious, can we properly draw from them? The answer, of course, is that we can properly draw no inferences whatever about other worldliness in the sixteenth century from those facts. Any commitment with respect to otherworldkness in the stateenth century that is, with respect to any historical phenomenon in any reasury, should follow and naver precede the historical investigation of that phenomenon at that time. It must not be derived from the investigation of the opposite or polar phenomenon alone. Yes without a moment of hesitation Polland, and a great mazry historians since Pollard, have habitually, perhaps even unconsciously, inferred from the facts about thisworldings in the sixteenth century the decline of other-worldliness in that age. Why did Pollard do (t) He did it because he had fallen into the lethal crap I have been trying not very successfully to deserioe, the trap created by the corollary about evidence which follows from his assamption about the conservation of historical energy. He took the demonstrable increase in the flow of energy and activity to the secular pole to be adequate evidence of the flow of activity and energy away from the religious pole. And here in a quite encerete instance the assumption about the conservation of historical energy has ex-

ercised a practical and very malign influence on historical imagination Since they have already taken it as given that otherworldlings declined in the sixteenth century, Pollard and many other historians have had either to disregard facts which suggest that things were otherwise or they have had to explain such facts eway. Neither alternative is a very happy one, since both, instead of beloing us to make sense of one of the most conspicuous sequeries of facts in the natoenth century, force us to make nonsense of it. That conspicuous sequence of facts is the one which runs from the religious revival, exemplified but not exhausted by Christian bustateism. through the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, to the Wars of Religion, That this series of events indicates that the sixteenth centusy underwent an intensity and extension of religious concern beword anything which had been experienced or imagined in the biteenth century is a historical inference practically beyond doubt.

Only something extra historical could blind able historians to a fact up obvious. We have identified that extra-historical entity - the assumption of the conservation of historical energy. If we get nid of the manaption, we get rid of our difficulty and can look squarely at the historical facts. Once we realize that the religious and the secular, although polar to one unother, can, both at once, rise to higher levels of insursiry, we will recognize that they both did so rise in the exceenth century. From 1517 on, the religious revival which had begun earlier got caught up in the one historical polarity of the sixteenth century which was unconditional and absolute - the polarity between Catholic and Protestant. Under such circumstances its very intensity threatened the civil order and the security of every land in Western Christendom. ligs men - almost all men - are comcerned not only with matters of creed and ideology, they are also concerned with civil order, which is the framework of their living from day to day. And for secular rulers the maintenance of civil order is at

once a necessity and according to the views current in the sinteents century, a part of their duty to Cox. When the interniled pull toward the religious pole found expression in mortal strile between Catholic and Protestant, is it really any wonder that men of theory, like Boun, fest impelled to think through afresh the problem of police cal obligation, that men of judgment, like Montagene, felt the need to dampen the hies of sectarian ardor, and that masesmen. regardless of their tel gazas preference, felt driven to play the European power game with a cold and careful calculation of the consequences of each move. Whether in the particular amount domestic order, or place in the European state system, or both, were involved, the conflict over religion had set a painfully high price on errors or weakness in the game of power in the sixteenth century. So Mary Squart learned to her cost to Scotland, and Philip II to his cost in the Netherlands. So the French learned through a generation of devastating and bloody religious civil war. If, in the sixteenth century, many men displayed an interesc previous and with chilly computations of this worldly advantage, it was in part at least because they felt at their backs the burning heat of religious conflagration.

It was my intention to bring this essay to a close with an apolicy for its scantiness in the matter of history, the musting of fact, and for its preoccupation with the forms of historical explanation. Yet after all, had the deployment of a mass of fact seemed more desirable to me on this recession than a consemplation of problems of historical form there was nothing to prevent said a deployment. But history writing is more than a point up of facts, it is an arraying, an ordering of facts. Its good is not only to state what happened, but so render what happened increasingly ratelligible, and we must concern ourselves act only with ways of getting data, but with ways of purting data together. Our refined methods of assessing evidence and establishing facts, of which we are justly proud, about not be the only tools of our ends. Historians percel

to be a most eclerate band of workers, jacksof-many tracks, if not of all. We should be read a bong to bear on the problems of coloring intelligibly those facts at our disposal, the whole large of our remembered expenses are a what we know about other classificates, the craights we have gained from linearouse, and, perhaps most impurtant though surely least collected, a certain good sense and solidity of judgment

which we may acquire if we go reflectively about the business of living our own lives. In the indisposable fervor of collecting was seachs of 4 in by 6 in cards, covered with priceless, although comowhat inco-hurent but of information, let us not forget what Pollard knew so well and exemplated so clearly in Factors in Modern History. He also serves, who sometimes aits and thinks.

### SUGGESTIONS FOR ADDITIONAL READING

A countehensive discussion of the recent literature on the subject we have dealt with is not available. The nearest thing to such a discussion is the article by Roland Mousnier and Fritz Harring, "Quelques problèmes concurnant la manarchie absolue," Relazioni del X congresso internazionale di scienze storiche (Florence, 1955), IV, Storia Moderna Good discussions of the nature of sixteenth century political institutions and the social and econumic changes of the period can be found in any of the standard multi-volume histories now available. In the English series The New Combridge Modern History there is the volume edited by G. R. Patter, The Renaissance, 1493-1520 (Cambridge, 1957), and that edited by G. R. Elson, The Referention, 1520-1559 (Cambridge, 1958). The excellent French series Peuples et Civilimions contains La fin du Moyen Age (Paris, 1931), part 2, L'annunce des temps nonceater, edited by Henri Pirenne and others. In the same series there is the excellent volume to which Henri Figures contributed heavily: Les débuts de l'âge maderne (Parls, 1956). Roland Mousnier's Les XVIº et XVIIº sleeles (Paris, 1961), vol. IV of Histoire pinerale des civilisations, is an excellent recept synthesis. The great German scholar Gerbord Potter is the general editor of the arries Geschichte der Newzeit, in which Erich Hassinger's Das Werden dus Neuzeisliche Europa appeared in 1959. The leading maki valume history by American scholars is The Rise of Moderst Europe, in which two excellent volumes relevant to our theme, both containing important bibliographic essays, have appeared to date. These are Myron P. Columns The World of Humanism (New York, 1952) and Carl Friedrich's The Age of the Baroque (New York, 1952).

More specialised modes in English are not nearly so easy to find. The laterature dealing with the "New Monanchies," their

antecedents and environment, is largely a European literature. But excellent studies of an advanced nor do exist. The economic institutions and social structure of the age of nastent obsolutism and constitutional croffet is discussed in F. L. Nasham. A History of the Economic Institutions of Modern Europe (New York, 1913), a volume that temperatures the messive studies of Werner Sombart, whose Der Bourgeois remains a classic on site appearance of the middle class, despite its 1913 publication date. Important for the name background questions is the work of J. H. Hetter, Responsals in History (Evansom, 1961).

Specifically political insuraneous especially parliamentary or representative institutions, their origins and early maximum development in conflict with the central tring tendencies of the Renassance princes. are discussed in a number of emportant works. Pride of place must perhaps be allowed to Otto Hintre's Weltgeschichtliche Bedingungen des Repraeuentativeverfassung," which appeared in Historische Zeitschrift, CXLIII (1931), 1-47, where older ideas about the medieval origins of sepresentative institutions are codified. Some of the same issues are discussed by F. Chabod, "Y a-t-il un état de la Benaissance," Actes du collegue sur la Rennissance (Paris, 1958), pp. 57-78, as well as in Houser's volume mentioned above and Sir G. N. Clark's incisive The Seventoenth Century (Oxford, 1947). The 2nd part of a volume of essays presented to Helen Mand Cam, Album Helen Manul Cam Studies Prosecond to the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary fastinations, XXIV (Louvain, 1961), contains several important essays on the subject here discussed. See especially the arneles by B. Leon, Medieval Conspitutionalism," 155-183, and F. L. Carsten, "The Causes of the Decline of the German Estates," 287-296. For England pucha-

mentary institutions have a special significance, and finglish scholars and their American counterparts have contributed to our understanding of their role in the sixtrenth century. The most important modern weeks are those by Sir John E. Neole, especially his The Elizabethan House of Commons (London, 1949) and his twovolume study of Queen Elizabeth's purliaments, entitled Elizabeth I and her Parliaments (London, 1953). Earlier studies by Wallace Notestein, The Winning of the Initiative by the House of Commons (London, 1926) and A. F. Polland's The Evolurion of Parliament (New York, 1926), are valuable for the light they throw on the use made of parliaments by the earlier Tudors, Part and Present, Number 25 (July, 1963), 3-59, contains a symposium on the Tudor State, focusing on Dr. Elton's "revolution," but with attention given to the views of Polland and Professor Richardson, especially in the article by Dr. Penry Williams. For France the best recent works are those by J. Rossell Major, whose monographs on various aspects of the Renaissance menanchy in France have contributed greatly to the revisionist whool. In addition to the week reprinted here his The Entates General of 1560 (Princeton, 1951) and The Deputies to the Estates General of Renaissance France (Wisconsin, 1960). are especially important, the more so because he diagress pointedly with Chahod and also with the leading Spanish authority, Jame Vincen Vives. Two of Major's articles may also be mentioned. "The Lon of floral Initiative and the Decay of the Estates General in Feature, 1421-1615," Album Helen Mand Cam Studies Presented to the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions (Lauvain, 1961), XXIV, 247-259; and "The French Remaissance Monarchy as seen through the Estates General," Studies in the Remaissance, IX (1962), 113-125. The available literature on the Netherlands is more alight, but Pictae Geyl, The Revolt of the Netherlands (London, 1958) and H. G. Koenigherger's "The Organization of Revolutionary Parties in France and the Netherlands during the 16th Contury," Journal of Modern History, XXVII (1953), 335-351, are steful.

There is not a very extensive literature on the development of royal or parlismentary administrative organs. The best treatment of bureaucracy and its tole in the unteenth century content for power is found in the concluding chapters of G. E. Aylmer's The King's Security (Loudon, 1961), a work concerned with the civil service under Charles I, but which deals with the historical problem of political anatorious and bureaucracy in England and on the Continent in a masterly faduon. For a comparative study of administrative developments and the role of office in reval government K. W. Sweet's The Sale of Office in the 17th Century (The Hague, 1949), despite in title, is valuable for the earlier period. Finally, it needs to be said that the student wishing further insight into this aspect of the problem or, indeed, any other line of investigation, ought to go to the standard bibliographies and to the journals. All of the leading periodicals carry useful summaties of secent literature. as well as reviews of important works.

